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EVENTS OF THE WEEK

THE confusion of British politics grows worse confounded. Last week the Government narrowly escaped defeat in the House of Commons in circumstances which are discussed by our Parliamentary Correspondent and, in an article on another page, by Mr. Frank Owen, M.P., but which still retain some elements of mystery. This week, the House of Lords have challenged the Commons and the Government to mortal combat by insisting on their spread-over amendment to the Coal Bill, thus imperilling the Bill, the Government, and the life of Parliament itself. We endeavour in our leading article to measure the consequences of this reckless proceeding. Meanwhile, the Conservative Party has chosen to carry its domestic controversy on fiscal policy into the House of Commons by moving a vote of censure on the Government; much as a quarrelling husband and wife will combine to abuse an innocent stranger.

The debates in the Indian Legislature have given welcome evidence of the strong and growing desire for full Indian participation in the work of the Round-Table Conference. It is true that the Government were defeated, in the Assembly, on a motion to reduce by Rs.100 the supplementary grant towards the expenses of the delegation. The Opposition speakers, however, made it clear that their only object in challenging a division was to put on record their criticisms of the Simon Report. The Conference itself was treated as a

serious reality, and leaders such as Mr. Jinnah and Sir Ramaswamy Iyer argued with great force and conviction for genuine co-operation in its work. Even the criticisms of the Simon Report were to some extent helpful, as lifting the discussion of the Report on to a plane of reasoned criticism as opposed to vague denunciation. Following the debate, three important party meetings were held. The Hindu Moderates, the Moslem League, and the Minority Communities—including the Depressed Classes, the Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, and European Group—all passed resolutions supporting the Viceroy's speech and the principle of the Round-Table Conference. The Hindu Moderates took a practical step of great importance by suggesting that Mr. Jayakar should approach Mr. Gandhi and the other imprisoned Congress leaders in an attempt to persuade them to call an armistice and suspend the agitation for civil disobedience.

* * *

The worst feature of the situation is the effect produced by the attacks on Lord Irwin in Great Britain, and especially by the blazing indiscretions of Mr. Winston Churchill, which are providing abundant ammunition for those who doubt, or pretend to doubt, the good faith of the British people. Sir Ramaswamy Iyer, however, took the sensible line that such speeches as those of Lord Birkenhead and Lord Brentford only showed the necessity for full Indian representation at the Conference, in order that the Indian case might be effectively put. Fortunately, the attitude of the Euro-

pean community in India has been admirable. Sir Hugh Cocke, their leader in the Assembly, assured the House that there were no die-hards among the European community to-day, that "the die-hards in England are not going to dictate to India," and that the representatives of the European community at the Round-Table Conference would work whole-heartedly "to help the Indians to get a stable Constitution for India." Mr. Eric Studd, son of Sir Kynaston Studd, representing the Calcutta Europeans, spoke to the same effect, and agreed with Sir Hugh Cocke in regarding the Simon Report as a useful basis of discussion. Both speeches were very well received, and have helped, undoubtedly, to create a more friendly atmosphere in the Assembly.

The Egyptians are giving proof of a greater enthusiasm for their constitutional rights than King Fuad and his advisers anticipated. On Tuesday, July 15th, a Wafdist meeting in Alexandria was the beginning of a ferocious riot. The demonstrators showed a grim unity of purpose. Greek and Maltese traders, usually the first sufferers in an Eastern riot, were left alone; the rioters simply fell upon the guardians of authority wherever they could find them. At the present moment, heavy reinforcements of troops have established an ominous, brooding calm in the city. The news is most serious, for if anything can be certain, it is that the disturbance is not over, and a renewal will certainly be accompanied by a clamour that the British troops in Egypt should assist the Government. To refuse such a demand may be impossible if the lives of foreign residents are endangered, but to accede to it may have disastrous consequences; all Egypt would believe that an unconstitutional Government had been set up under British pressure and was being maintained by British bayonets, and Anglo-Egyptian relations would be thrust back into the old slough of suspicion and hatred.

The Franco-Italian negotiations have taken a new and welcome turn. The French Government have replied to the proposals for a naval holiday, by giving an undertaking that no new keels will be laid down until December. It is true that the original Italian proposal was for a suspension of construction during the course of the negotiations, but the difference between this and the French undertaking is not great, for a suspension of building until December is quite enough to give the negotiations a restful diplomatic background. It has been suggested in some quarters that the British Government should fall into line by cancelling the current year's programme of three cruisers, one flotilla leader, eight destroyers, and three submarines. These, however, are over-due replacements, for British building has been held back for two years in anticipation of the London Conference, and cannot be further suspended without running a serious risk of panic demands in the near future. It is highly probable, moreover, that any suspicion that the treaty programme was being adjusted to European politics would set up a cry in the United States that an underhand attempt was being made to influence American construction. Our present task is to prepare for the 1935 Conference and do everything that is possible to bring France and Italy into it.

The French Government have received a large number of replies to M. Briand's Memorandum on a federal union of Europe, and intend to draw up a further paper discussing these replies, and present it for examination at Geneva. As the original Memorandum consisted largely of abstract propositions, the replies are inevitably vague. The one positive proposal—for a

body representative of the Federal Union of Europe—has, however, provoked a considerable amount of concrete criticism; for this body, with its permanent representatives and secretariat, would inevitably duplicate the existing organization of the League and might come to be regarded as a rival. The French view that political union must precede economic co-operation has also been traversed. The German Government, for instance, hold that economic co-operation in Europe need not wait for a federal union, and that, "ways and means must be found . . . to facilitate the exchange of goods between the predominantly agrarian and the predominantly industrial areas of Europe." They go so far as to say that they are willing to make a firm offer on the tariff question, and to encourage "direct agreements" on a private business basis.

Two recent events in France are of particular interest to this country. The first is the passage of a new Social Insurance Law which provides compulsory insurance against the normal social risks of illness, maternity, disablement, old age, and death. The finance is provided by the workers and employers (who pay 4 per cent. of the workers' standard wage each) and, except in the special scheme for agriculture, the State makes no contribution. It is especially interesting to note that this advance into the field of social insurance—a very remarkable advance to be made by France, with her backward social services—does not include insurance against unemployment. The second event is a National Equipment Bill for encouraging national development along a number of important lines—in particular, port development, roads, agricultural development, research, and electrification, and so on. £40,000,000 are to be provided by the Central Government over the next five years for these purposes; including local contributions, £136,000,000 in all are to be spent; and a further expenditure of £38,000,000 on Colonial development mainly in West Africa is also envisaged.

After the strong drink of the Bankers' Manifesto, the report of the British Preparatory Committee for the Imperial Conference seems at first a very weak brew indeed; but whereas the Bankers' Manifesto really showed little else than a vague hankering after Protection, the Preparatory Committee's report discloses a statesmanlike insight into current economic realities. The British Preparatory Committee comprises three constituent organizations—the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, the Federation of British Industries, and the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom. As might be expected from representatives of such diverse interests, its report bears the stamp of compromise on almost every paragraph. It is none the worse for that. The result is not merely a desire for the maximum possible development of inter-Imperial trade, but also an insistence on the importance of increasing the Empire's share in world trade and of generally improving world conditions. And it is sensible realism to recognize that, in reaching a wise decision on these matters, "the reactions of Imperial economic policy," *inter alia*, "upon the volume of Imperial trade with foreign countries . . . must be fully and scientifically taken into account." (The italics are ours.)

The committee on the iron and steel industry, which was appointed last summer at about the same time as the cotton committee, has not hitherto published its full report. All that the Government have allowed the public to know is the result of a special inquiry into industrial conditions in France, Belgium, Luxemburg, Germany, and Czechoslovakia (Cmd. 3601). This

investigation has yielded valuable information about wages and hours of labour abroad—though want of comparable data in this country makes it difficult to draw the right conclusions. But in any event, wages and labour conditions are far from the whole tale. Much more knowledge must be made available about efficiency, organization, finance, modernization, the excess of productive capacity over demand, and the proper methods of restoring the industry to prosperity. What has been said by the special committee about efficiency, management, and plant is far from reassuring; and what they leave unsaid gives ample grounds for apprehension. The Government must publish the whole report on the iron and steel industry. How can full knowledge of its troubles hurt more than vague rumours and undefined fears? If industrial reconstruction is to be carried out, the first step is full publicity and frank diagnosis.

* * *

Under pressure from Mr. E. D. Simon and Miss Rathbone some improving amendments to the Housing Bill were inserted during its committee stage in the House of Commons. At the instigation of Mr. Simon, a clause was introduced relating to the obligation of local authorities to provide accommodation for displaced persons. This laid down a minimum standard of replacement: a house containing two bedrooms was to be treated as providing accommodation for four persons, one containing three bedrooms for five persons, and one containing four bedrooms for seven persons. Mr. Greenwood incorporated into the Bill an amendment of his own, leaving it optional on the local authorities to grant such rebates on rent as they think fit. This amendment does not satisfy the advocates of family allowances, who prefer a clause by which children's rebates on rents are made compulsory; and there is reason to believe that Conservative support would be given to such a proposal. Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion of a "rent pool" was not accepted by the Committee. On Wednesday, the Bill passed its Second Reading in the House of Lords, and is now well on its way to becoming an Act.

* * *

In allowing a number of appeals last week against the Crown, Lord Justice Scrutton had some caustic comments to make on the Rating and Valuation (Apportionment) Act, 1928, commonly known as the Derating Act, and its sister statute, the Local Government Act of 1929. His Lordship observed that, while the language of the Acts had given rise to great difficulties and differences of opinion between both Scottish and English judges, the results so far had been that industries which no one would suppose to be in any need of pecuniary assistance, such as breweries, tobacco factories, and newspaper proprietors, were obtaining the benefit of derating at the expense of British taxpayers. The Acts give relief from rating to "industrial hereditaments," but Scottish and English tribunals have differed widely as to what these may be. Is, for instance, a bakery, with a retail shop and dwelling-house attached, an industrial hereditament within the meaning of the Acts? Nice problems, such as this, having been decided one way or the other by the Assessment Committee, Quarter Sessions, and the Divisional Court, were dealt with by the English Court of Appeal among the seventeen cases so far heard, and derating allowed to all, except to a cold storage company, but the Crown can still go (and probably will go) further—to the House of Lords! Whatever may be the ultimate fate of other industries, the Bar at least for some time to come will have reason to bless the ingenuity of the late Minister of Health.

There are many readers of *THE NATION* who will regret to learn of the death, at sixty-five, of Victor Branford, known during nearly thirty years among the social science groups in London as an indefatigable worker and deviser of projects. He was a man of remarkable personality, with an astonishing range of activity. A graduate of Edinburgh, he was for a time editor of the *DUNDEE ADVERTISER*. He turned to travel and geographic study, mastered the problems of South America, devoted himself to the development of Paraguay, and made a highly distinctive place for himself in City finance. His hobby, or passion, was sociology. He was a principal founder of the Sociological Society, and was largely instrumental in obtaining the Martin White chair in the University of London that was filled by L. T. Hobhouse. He was the devoted friend and ally of Professor Patrick Geddes, in numberless projects of social and cultural effort. Late in life he took to authorship, but his books were no adequate reflection of his wonderfully strenuous and generous life.

* * *

Economic considerations have a way of cutting across political loyalties, but it will be a specially piquant situation if the farmers of the Irish Free State become keen supporters of the Empire Food Tax campaign. A leading Irish journal has already claimed that the immediate result of such taxes would be to drive Denmark out of the British market. Denmark is Ireland's chief competitor in the sale of butter, eggs, bacon, and dairy produce generally. To certain smiling Irish eyes there appears the possibility of illimitable expansion of the British market for Irish produce—due to their inclusion in the Empire! It is said that Ireland's adverse trade balance will be wiped out at once. The prospect is dazzling, but prudent farmers are sticking to the prosaic method of improving quality, grading, and transport in the attempt to beat Denmark by giving the British consumer better value.

* * *

The arrangements for the Liberal Summer School at Oxford from July 31st to August 6th are now complete. A most interesting programme has been arranged. The inaugural address will be given by Sir Herbert Samuel. Lord Lothian will speak on "The British Commonwealth," and Sir Robert Hamilton on "East Africa." Sir Walter Layton is to deal on different days with two topics on which he is a leading authority—Free Trade, and India. There will also be a debate on "Empire Free Trade," between Mr. Ronald Walker and a Crusader; and a debate on Import Boards between Mr. E. F. Wise and Mr. Arthur Holgate. Among the other speakers will be Mr. Philip Guedalla, Mr. E. D. Simon, Miss Megan Lloyd George, Mr. W. L. Hichens, Mr. Angus Watson, Mr. W. Wallace, Sir Francis Acland, and Mr. Stuart Hodgson. Applications for enrolment should be addressed to the Secretary, Liberal Summer Schools, 25, Old Queen Street, S.W.1.

* * *

It is announced that Sir Arthur Salter is resigning his office as Director of the Economic Section of the League of Nations. Comparatively few people know how great an influence he has exercised for the appeasement and reconstruction of Europe, but many can testify to his high qualities of constructive statesmanship. We hope to publish next week an appreciation of Sir Arthur Salter's work for the League by Lord Cecil of Chelwood.

THE LORDS AND THE COAL BILL

THE irresponsibility of politicians seems immeasurable. Again and again the reasonable calculations of observers have been falsified because they assumed that a certain amount of common sense and foresight would be shown by political leaders, and none was forthcoming. All sensible men declared, for instance, that the House of Lords would not reject Mr. Lloyd George's Budget of 1909, because it would be suicidal to do so; and all sensible men were wrong; it *was* suicidal, but the Lords were not deterred by that consideration; they rejected the Budget. Similarly, this week, over the Coal Bill: from the point of view of public interest there were the strongest possible reasons for avoiding a conflict between the two Houses of Parliament, and we should have thought that Party considerations would have pointed emphatically in the same direction; nevertheless, that conflict has been wantonly and light-heartedly provoked. It is incredible, but it is true.

After months of negotiations with the Owners and the Miners, the Government introduced their Coal Bill in partial fulfilment of the most emphatic of their election pledges—to reduce the statutory working-hours in the mines. After weeks of debate in the House of Commons, the Bill was passed in an amended form through all its stages. The House of Lords then proposed further amendments, some of which were accepted by the Government and the Commons. In the end, the questions in dispute were narrowed down to a single point—the permissive spread-over of working hours, by which owners and miners might agree to distribute the daily quota of 7½ hours unevenly over a fortnight. The House of Lords pressed the amendment embodying this arrangement; the Government consulted the Miners and refused to give way. The *Times* on Tuesday urged the House of Lords in the gravest terms not to insist on their amendment, and warned them of the consequences which would result from obstinacy. In vain! On the advice of Lord Salisbury, their Lordships decided that evening to stand firm and, in Lord Milner's memorable phrase, to "damn the consequences."

On the merits of the spread-over, the House of Lords may well have the best of the argument. The amendment in its present form is purely permissive, and its inclusion in the Bill might reduce unemployment and even avert a fall in wages. But the merits of the proposal are hardly relevant at this stage. The point is that the Government have already gone far to meet the critics of the Bill, and that the miners have already been persuaded to accept much less than a complete redemption of the Labour Party's election pledge. Something must be left to the judgment of Ministers, or government becomes impossible. It might have been wiser of them to have accepted the amendment and braved the anger of the miners, but they decided otherwise, and should have been left to shoulder the responsibility for their decision.

The next move is with the Government, and their

decision may not be known before we go to press. They may accept the amendment, under protest, and wait for a more favourable opportunity to have their reckoning with the House of Lords. They may drop the Bill and throw the unfortunate Coal Industry back into chaos, at the imminent risk of another stoppage and still more unemployment. They may resign, or ask the King to dissolve Parliament.

Of these three courses, we believe the first to be infinitely the best. To drop the Bill would do the maximum harm to the Coal Industry without saving the Government's prestige. It is entirely contrary to the public interest that there should be a General Election now. The position in India is critical. There is trouble in Egypt. The Naval Treaty has not yet been ratified in the United States. A series of vital conferences—the Imperial Economic Conference, the Indian Round-Table Conference, the Assembly of the League—are taking place within the next four months. The country is in the grip of an intense economic depression. This is no time to plunge into the confusion of a sudden election. On the other hand, we believe that the Government would positively gain in authority and strength by showing themselves more responsible and more concerned for the public interest than is the House of Lords. They have been subjected to the insolent dictation from which the Liberal Party suffered in the years before the war. If they refuse to be deflected from the main course of their policy by that provocation, they will gain, we believe, the more consistent and cordial support of Liberal Members in the House of Commons, and increased respect from responsible people throughout the country.

THE WISDOM OF OUR BANKERS

THE work which banks perform in the business world is of such vital importance as to lead the public to suppose that bankers must be impartial experts upon the industrial and commercial policy of our country. Their recent Manifesto on Empire Trade has, therefore, evoked in some quarters the reverence due to holy writ. But here as elsewhere sceptics arise with probing questions. "Do the great Joint Stock Banks cultivate so close an acquaintance with the conditions of the industries which they supply with credit as to entitle them to pose as industrial and commercial experts?" The financial situation in Lancashire and in other depressed areas furnishes a significant reply to this question. The other related question is, "Have we a sufficient assurance that policies profitable to banks are naturally and necessarily sound policies for manufacturers and traders? If so, how does it come about that, during the deepest and most prolonged trade depressions within record, banking stands out as one of the few prosperous industries, thriving in, if not on, the adversity of its neighbours?"

But, though such reflections may shed doubt upon the expertise of the bankers' pronouncement, they do not dispose of its argument, which seems to run as follows: "Four years ago, as good free traders, we pled for the

removal of the tariffs and other barriers upon European trade. Since that plea is rejected and higher barriers are raised against our export trade, we must now, as good protectionists, seek 'reciprocal trade agreements' with the nations in our Empire, buying the foods and raw materials we require within that Empire and paying for them by enlarged sales of our manufactured goods to Empire purchasers. In the pursuit of this policy we must be 'prepared to impose duties on all imports from all other countries.'

Now the position of our external trade in 1928 lay as follows. Our imports from foreign countries stood at £783 millions, from British countries £292½ millions. Our exports (visible only) to foreign countries were £396 millions, to British countries £327½ millions. These figures suffice to show, first, that a policy directed to secure a virtually self-contained Empire is impracticable. The notion that our Empire can absorb the whole of the manufactured goods we are able to produce is, of course, not seriously entertained. Nor, on the other hand, can our bankers suggest imperial substitutes for many important raw materials such as cotton, timber, iron ore, and petroleum, which are wholly or almost wholly purchased from foreign countries. What, then, do their proposals really signify? "Reciprocal trade agreements between the nations constituting the British Empire" are to form the basis of the new economy. But these "nations" constitute a very small proportion of our Empire in area and population. No doubt the Dominions would gladly enter into an agreement by which we would tax foreign goods and raw materials, letting theirs in free, and in return they might consent to enlarge the preferences they already give us on manufactured goods. But this would be a most unequal deal. For the fixed policy of each Dominion is the development, as far and as fast as possible, of its own manufacturing industries, and no "preference" will be allowed to interfere with this, as recent Australian and Canadian tariffs indicate. Nor is it possible to believe that Canada would be willing or able to dispense with her growing trade with the United States in our favour, taking machinery and other goods from us which the United States can supply cheaper or better fitted to Canadian needs. Some enlargement of our exports to the Dominions might issue from these "reciprocal agreements," but it would be dearly and dangerously purchased. We should have to shut off our free markets for foreign foods and raw materials, thus narrowing the sources of our supply, and raising the price we paid. Even if we made "reciprocal agreements" with the Colonies and Protectorates that form the rest of our Empire, the supplies of our essential foods and raw materials would be less reliable than when the whole world is free to enter our markets. It is idle to contend that our Dominions, with their small populations, could greatly increase their exports without recourse to lands inferior in fertility or position, or that the Empire, as a whole, could give us the same security of supply for such essential imports as wheat and cotton which we possess under free trade.

The principle holds good both for our import and our export trade that any narrowing of markets injures us. If we limit the sources of our supply we pay more for what we buy; if we limit the markets in which we sell, we shall sell less and get lower prices for what we sell. Protectionists deny these propositions, but do not refute them. They say that a guaranteed market to the foods and raw materials of our Empire will so stimulate the supplies that the refusal of foreign supplies will make no difference to prices, although another side of their scheme is the encouragement

of our home farm produce, which presupposes this very rise of prices. But in every great agricultural country of the world, a higher price for wheat, meat, cotton, wool, and other essentials for our life and industry is loudly demanded as necessary to salvation. The tariff which we are to impose on foreign foods and materials must, therefore, raise the costs of production for our manufactures unless we lower real and money wages, so as to make the workers pay for the dearer materials and food. Our Empire protectionists dare not plant their claim on wage reductions. Therefore, the cost of production in all our manufactures rises. So far as these manufactures are for home consumption, this means a real-wages cut, only to be compensated by a rise in wage-rates. So far as our export trade is concerned it means higher prices to be paid in the Empire markets, and diminished sales in foreign markets. The higher prices will reduce Empire purchases and will either enable foreign goods to climb the tariff wall designed to keep them out, or will encourage our Dominions and Colonies to set up more industries for their own supply.

The oft-cited argument that a secured home market facilitates the economies of standardized machine production, enabling the producer to produce at lowest costs, dumping his surplus abroad for what it will fetch, is unsound alike in principle and practice. In the first place, the home market is not secure. The world market is less fluctuating in demand than any narrower area, such as a national market. The condition of the export trades in Germany and America at the present time is a practical confirmation of this principle. The idea that we can restore the stable prosperity of our great exporting trades, coal, textiles, metals, machinery, and shipbuilding, by charging these trades with increased costs of raw materials and higher food bills for their workers, relying upon increased Empire purchases at the higher prices these increased costs involve, is quite the most preposterous idea that has ever entered an Empire-fuddled brain.

Imperial sentiment thrives on misused statistics. Because figures show that our sales to the Empire have been growing somewhat faster than our sales to stricken Europe, boycotted Russia, war-ridden China, and South America subjected to the new American drive, we are urged to confine our serious attention to our best customers, who are already buying from us the greater part of such wares as we are able to supply. A strange doctrine for wide-eyed business men to propound! Is it not better to expend our efforts in countries with large potential markets which we may secure, than in countries where we have already got most of the trade there is to get? Outside our Empire lie China and Russia, with immensely rich, varied, and unexploited raw materials, and huge populations with newly roused illimitable demands for manufactured goods. A policy of peaceful economic penetration in such areas might apply incomparably better remedies to our diseased export trades than tampering with Empire Tariffs, only rendered plausible, even to the less instructed of our electorate, by including India, the home of three-quarters of our population. Do our bankers think we can safely count upon India to come in to their new imperial economic policy? And do they suppose that foreign nations which have hitherto enjoyed equal access to our markets will complacently look on while we set up the required tariff walls, and will gladly accept any surplus export goods we cannot push into the Empire markets, and sell us on easy terms the foods and raw materials we need when imperial supplies happen, for climatic or other reasons, to run short?

JOHN A. HOBSON.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES

TO appreciate the full humour of the House one must serve in at least two Parliaments under different administrations. Then one can see how "the whirligig of Time brings its revenges." In Committee on the Housing Bill we heard Mr. Greenwood insisting on the right to build quite small houses, while Sir Kingsley Wood bitterly echoed from the past the cry of "rabbit-hutches" which he had to listen to in his day. Susan, in reply, protested that she had lived in the utmost comfort and luxury in a bed-sitting-room; and, of course, what is sauce for the goose, &c. Workers housed on a similar scale will doubtless find comfort in that reflection. But really, "Change places and handy-dandy"—which is the Tory and which is the Socialist?

Liberals escape from the sting of these recriminations, because it is a long time since they were in power, and no man cares much about aspersions on the character of his great-grandfather. So Ernest Brown, Percy Harris, and Sir Tudor Walters were free to protest with great vigour and a clear conscience. But malcontents in all parties had to content themselves with a vague promise of something undefined which was to be inserted in Another Place. Mr. Shinwell talks glibly about abolishing the House of Lords, but even Socialists find it highly convenient sometimes.

The last day in Committee on the Finance Bill brought us nearer to a General Election than we have been at any time in this session. Dr. Leslie Burgin can hardly have dreamed of such developments when he put upon the Order Paper his new clause to relieve from Income Tax money expended on plant, machinery, or development. He intended it, no doubt, as a bright idea to be bowed in with diffidence and bowed out again with polite regrets. But without any contrivance of his own his squib swelled visibly into a high-powered rocket, and very nearly scattered us all to our constituencies.

No party can be said to have gained any great credit from the incident. Liberals found themselves in the position of troops who have fallen in for a Church Parade and suddenly find themselves called upon to go over the top. They were unprepared and could find no satisfactory line of action. The Tories, on the other hand, were ready to the last man, but showed clearly that they did not care two straws for the amendment, and only thought it would be rather fun to defeat the Government and throw the blame for any consequences on the Liberals. They used the old trick of keeping a thin House up to the last moment and massing their reserves in the St. Stephen's Club—which in itself proved the purely tactical nature of their objective.

As for the Socialists, they won a victory indeed (by three votes, or was it two?), but they must have been drafting their election addresses while the division was in progress. And for all their danger and anxiety they had Mr. Snowden, and him alone, to thank. He began by taunting Dr. Burgin for the conciliatory tone of his speech, and did his best to precipitate a crisis by boasting that no crisis was possible. Not content with pouring scorn upon the new clause, he seized the opportunity to expound the most reactionary Treasury principles. Mr. Lloyd George, exercising the greatest self-restraint, did his best to restore the situation to normal, but the Chancellor had put him into a position from which it was almost impossible to withdraw. Winston, of course, fanned the flames with the skill of a practised incendiary. He spoke of "the dead-

weight of resistance, the dull and stern negation" with which the proposal had been received. He, of course, "had no desire to relieve the Government from a single hour of the agony and humiliation that they are condemned increasingly to suffer," &c., &c. And so the challenge was taken up.

In the result Mr. Snowden could claim that he had called the Liberals' bluff and made them look ridiculous, but he bought the privilege at an insane risk to the fortunes of his own party. The story of the Campbell prosecution vote was all but repeated—and that meant nearly five years in the wilderness for the Socialist Party. I wonder what Tom Kennedy thought about it?

After that all interest in the Finance Bill flickered out. Sir Ernest Shepperson gurgled peacefully about agricultural land, and Messrs. Kirkwood and Macquisten fought a private battle over the body of the Duke of Montrose, but there was hardly any audience for these turns, and when the next division was taken no less than 116 Tory Members had left the House. That is the measure of their interest in agricultural land.

On the Lords' amendments to the Coal Bill there were only two real issues—the district levy and the "spread-over." The Government wisely decided to give way on the first (under the screen of an amendment) and maintain their resistance to the second. Sir Herbert Samuel and the Liberal Party supported them on both points. We have struggled through the Coal Bill in all its weary stages in order to save the miners that half-hour, and it is not lightly to be surrendered now.

Sir Robert Horne was heavily offensive to Sir Herbert Samuel without contributing much to the matter in hand, and Mr. Aneurin Bevan made what was probably a very good speech, but chose to deliver it in a shrill falsetto that was almost unendurable. It is to be hoped that this most promising speaker will not spoil himself by sheer excitement.

Erimus must confess that he heard little of the Road Traffic Bill, but it seems to have hummed along at a good pace on a straight road with only animal obstacles. At least the following amendments to Clause 27 can be found on the Order Paper:—

"line 37, after 'pig' insert 'or';
 " after 'goat' insert 'cat.'
 " leave out 'or dog'
 at the end, insert 'or cat.'"

On Friday the Government obtained without difficulty their accelerated powers for Public Works, though Sir Kingsley Wood felt it his duty to put up a certain perfunctory opposition. The Public Works Loans Bill, on the other hand, produced a minor crisis. Mr. Wallhead moved to expunge the name of a certain noble lord from the Commission on the ground of his ferocious defiance to the miners in 1926. The issue was clouded by the fact that, whereas the mover was concerned only with the particular name, other Socialists obviously desired that the whole personnel of such Commissions should change with the change of Government. Mr. Pethick-Lawrence, as in duty bound, defended the invitations of his Chief, but soon discovered that he had no majority in the House, and was compelled to report progress.

Whereupon up rose Commander Eyres-Monsell and Arthur Michael Samuel to denounce the ignominious surrender. Yet one remembers an occasion in the last Parliament when that same Infant Samuel nearly set fire to himself with a Mechanical Lighter, and that identical Eyres-Monsell saved him with a motion to report progress. Now they have forgotten all that, and talk gaily about "despicable cowardice" and "hiding in a hole." The very same pair! What a memory! Or, what a nerve!

ERIMUS.

SOUL FORCE IN INDIA

[The following article by Mr. C. F. Andrews, the intimate friend of Mahatma Gandhi, gives a valuable insight into the psychology of the non-co-operation movement.—EDITOR, NATION.]

THE Press news from India has taken hitherto but little notice of one feature that may prove to be of primary importance when the present struggle in India, to gain independence, advances still further. This may be described, by a very imperfect phrase, as the new technique of non-violent non-co-operation. It represents the peculiar moral quality, which the genius of Mahatma Gandhi has introduced in his passive resistance struggle to overcome physical might by the exercise of soul force. People in Great Britain have hardly yet realized that nearly five thousand persons, including some women, have voluntarily accepted imprisonment and have refused to defend themselves in the law courts. During the hottest months of the year in India, when even a life of unrestricted liberty is often almost unbearable on account of the heat, these sufferers for conscience' sake have gladly undergone extreme bodily suffering in the hope thereby of helping forward the freedom of their own country. Even though very little is known in Great Britain about this exhibition of soul force, yet the countless millions in the villages of India listen to the story of it as they sit round in their circles at night. They tell of the *zulm* (tyranny) that is abroad and of the endurance on the part of their own people. Most of all, they tell of the heroic courage of their women.

Dr. Gilbert Murray, when dealing with the narrative of Mahatma Gandhi's passive resistance in South Africa, concludes with the following words :—

"Persons in power should be very careful how they deal with a man who cares nothing for sensual pleasure, nothing for riches, nothing for comfort, or praise, or promotion, but is simply determined to do what he believes to be right. He is a dangerous and uncomfortable enemy, because his body, which you can always conquer, gives you so little purchase on his soul."

It was in South Africa, nearly seventeen years ago, that I first saw this new technique of soul force practised by Mr. Gandhi, and took part in it. He had been summoned after arrest and imprisonment to meet General Smuts in Pretoria. He had decided to accept the invitation, and took me with him. A syndicalist strike among the European railway men and miners had broken out on the very day of our arrival. The strikers were called out in order to strike a paralyzing blow at the administration. They had asked Mr. Gandhi to join forces with them, but he had refused. Indeed, he did much more. He called off at once his own non-violent resistance. He did not wish, he said, to take an unfair advantage of Government's weakness. His struggle was a moral one, dependent on soul force for its victory, and not on any compromise with violence.

On another occasion in India, at the height of the non-co-operation movement, when success seemed almost within his grasp, he called off his whole campaign in a similar manner. But this time it was for a different reason. Among his own followers and against his own strict orders, violence had broken out. Therefore, he affirmed, he was not prepared to gain a victory which would be tantamount to defeat.

In the course of a long letter received by me from an American friend, who had the good fortune to visit Mahatma Gandhi's *asram* just before the arrests began, a singularly vivid picture is given of the scene he witnessed. The great leader of the Bardoli passive resistance campaign, Vallabhai Patel, was about to be arrested. This was rightly regarded by every member of the *asram* as the prelude of sweeping arrests to follow. But everyone was gay

and confident. The atmosphere—my friend wrote—was one of glad relief and almost of jubilation; for they all knew that the trial of their inner faith in non-violence had at last begun.

On this occasion, courtesy was observed on either side. The police under their commanding officer were considerate in their behaviour and sympathetic. After the arrest of Vallabhai, they allowed the inmates of Gandhi's *asram* to stand in line on either side of the road to say good-bye. When all was ready, the officer in command bowed and invited Vallabhai to enter the motor. The courtesy was returned, and the car drove very slowly down the line while each waved his farewell. My friend's letter adds that Mahatma Gandhi was immensely pleased. He was daily expecting his own arrest to follow. But he was greatly hoping that if both sides "played the game" the harsher sides of the struggle might not come too much to the front. As for suffering, they were joyfully prepared to bear it.

Since this letter was written by my friend much has happened to dash to the ground the hopes thus raised. But the gleam of light which shines out from chivalrous deeds has not been absent. Much has been made in the newspapers of acts of rioting, but the acts of splendid courage and endurance shown by hundreds of the national volunteers have hardly been recorded. Wherever the influence of Mahatma Gandhi himself has been preserved, people have gone to the furthest limits of peaceful resistance and have suffered joyfully without a murmur the hardships involved in this new form of warfare.

The following story is taken from Mahatma Gandhi's weekly paper *YOUNG INDIA*. Mahadev Desai gives an account of his own imprisonment :—

"The trial was over," he says, "and I was put in a prison van. On the back of the van was an English officer. There was a huge crowd all round. Suddenly a stone was flung from somewhere, and it hit the officer on the chin, giving him a nasty cut. 'See,' he cried, 'what your wretched people do! If they kept to non-violence we could have nothing to say. But look at this behaviour! People who cannot be non-violent had better keep out of this movement, or they will soon spoil it!'

"I hastily expressed my sorrow and told him that if he would stop the van I would speak to the crowds and make them thoroughly ashamed of themselves. But the officer refused and again began to complain. I asked him what I could do, shut up in the van as I was, and assured him that I was extremely pained at the incident and would gladly atone for it if I only knew how. The stone was lying in the van, and I asked him to hit me with it or with his stick, and I would bear it as a penance. 'No, no,' he replied, 'that won't do at all.' But after a little while he began to get sore again. 'See,' he said to me, 'what wretched things these people are doing! Look at Peshawar—why can't such people keep out of the movement altogether?' To this I assented with deep feeling, and we began to discuss the general situation. But once more he looked down at the stone, and said, 'I shall keep this as a memento!' But I implored him to throw it away. This suddenly touched him, and there and then he flung it from him."

When such amenities as these are possible, things are still not beyond the remedy of goodwill. Yet we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that, human nature being what it is, the strain from day to day both upon the police and on the passive resisters must become almost unendurable. That the police on different occasions have broken all bounds of restraint can hardly be doubted. First-hand evidence has come to me by letter that puts the matter quite beyond dispute. There have been also excesses on the side of the mob. But singularly little that could be called violence has been done by any of the followers of Mahatma Gandhi. That the latter are winning universal sympathy becomes clearer by every mail. The masses of the village people are

with Gandhi, and a peaceful revolution has begun, not in one part of India alone, but in every province.

The forces in Asia to-day that are bent upon violence are almost overwhelming. Russia and China have but little place for the soul force of passive resistance. Gandhi is openly mocked at as a dreamer. But it may be that the dreamer has discovered the moral equivalent for war.

C. F. ANDREWS.

PETROL AND OTHER ADVERTISEMENTS

THE tribute paid by the Scapa Society to the Shell-Mex Company for their practical support of the movement for preventing the disfigurement of the countryside by indiscriminate advertising has aroused considerable interest. A few years ago, in deference to the representations of the Scapa Society, the three great petrol firms—the Shell-Mex, the Anglo-American, and the British Petroleum Companies—definitely agreed to withdraw their advertisements from the roadsides in rural areas. They reserved the right to advertise their brands of petrol at garages and other filling stations, and, at considerable cost to themselves, cancelled many advertising contracts.

The public acclaimed this new policy, for it was realized that the enormous growth of outdoor competitive advertising was fast marring the grace and charm of every highway in the country, besides tending to raise the price of motor-spirit to the consumer.

Since then the Shell Company have taken a further step of great significance. They have agreed to withdraw the whole of their enamelled iron signs visible from outside the premises of petrol salesmen. That is a wise concession to the feeling of resentment against the garish advertising displays associated with the ubiquitous petrol pump. Garages and other filling stations have become an ugly welter of blatant signs of every colour, size, and shape. Not unnaturally, instead of attracting, they have the effect of irritating every motorist whose custom is sought, and every passer-by who is not blind to colour or form.

It may be hoped that the action of the Shell Company will be widely imitated. Sooner or later, all advertisers will be forced into line by the pressure of public opinion; meanwhile, every motorist who regards the beauty of the wayside should see to it that the enlightened firms do not suffer because their rivals continue to offend against the canons of good taste. If the public exclaims against the disfigurement of rural scenery, but at the same time swells the dividends of the disfigurers by buying their wares, it will get the roadside picture gallery it deserves.

This country is not behindhand in its legislation on this particular matter. The Advertisement Regulation Acts give local authorities considerable powers of making and enforcing by-laws by which the dignity of towns and villages and the beauty of the landscape can be protected; and in practically every county in England and Wales regulations are in operation. But local authorities will only move with public opinion, and unless the local public makes its opinion plain by acts it is to be feared that by-laws will remain a dead letter. We are too much inclined to grumble without deeds following to make our grumbling effective. The object of advertising is to attract the possible buyer, and it is for that possible buyer to show that he is not attracted but repelled by advertisements in the wrong place.

Undoubtedly resentment against the inconsiderate advertiser is growing, and growing rapidly; that is all to the good, and is reflected in increased activity on the part

of many County Councils. Successful prosecutions are taking place, and the counties are at last appointing committees to deal with advertisement disfigurement. A few years ago such action as was taken was usually left to the police; now the Councils themselves initiate prosecutions against glaring offenders. What is more to the point, this assertion of principles is helping to form a new advertising policy. Accredited billposters are coming into line through their Association; and the chief trouble now is with the smaller and less responsible firms who do not yet realize that advertising must progress with the times. It is no longer sufficient to paste a poster on to the nearest wall; the highest skill is demanded from the artist and printer alike, and it is becoming recognized that pictorial advertisements, however well produced, lose much of their effect when displayed in places to which exception can fairly be taken.

All this applies to towns no less than to the countryside. Why should not our city streets be as attractive in their way as our rural roads? Why should it not be as easy to protect from defacement a noble example of the art of the architect as it is to preserve the view of woodland scenery? Unfortunately, however, the Advertisement Regulation Acts are of little use in towns, largely owing to the limitations imposed by Whitehall on the scope of by-laws operating in urban areas. The result is seen in the spoiling of one of the finest entrances to Hyde Park by a medley of advertisements. Those advertisements are more than forty yards distant from the park, and for that reason the County Council's by-laws cannot be enforced against them. Many towns have rural or interesting quarters, which should be protected against disfigurement by those who fail to realize that to advertise in the wrong place is neither good manners nor good business. Until that self-evident fact is fully recognized every effort must be made to prevent the setting up of advertising stations in meadows, in front of hills and woods, on old barns and inns and cottages, and along arterial roads which should be pleasant parkways.

LAWRENCE CHUBB.

OPEN DIPLOMACY WILL PAY

ON Wednesday, the Government escaped defeat by two votes. Ministers made it plain after the voting had been announced that they would have resigned if they had been beaten.

It is unlikely that there would have been a General Election at once. The Conservatives might have taken office as a stop-gap Administration. It would have closed, for the time, their divided ranks. They would have been entitled to call on the Liberals—whose action had put them there—for a general support. Out of very shame, the Liberals, who have been saying for the past twelve months that the King's Government must be carried on, would have had to accord it. It would have been against the wishes of the vast bulk of the Liberals in the country. It would have very likely split the Parliamentary Party into fragments.

The Conservatives would not have been able to carry their tariff policies. They could have delayed them until after they had concluded a bargain with the Dominion Governments at the Imperial Conference. Then, at the moment most favourable to their own cause they would have gone to the country. In the meanwhile, they would have stopped the hands of the clock at Geneva in September. Unemployment, rising steadily through the next three months, and checked by no vigorous national effort, would

have strengthened their hand. In the absence of a Liberal-Labour programme, and against the barren appeal of Socialism in our time, they might have stampeded the country into high Protection. And since no tariff changes could possibly improve trade before Christmas (I am not arguing their ultimate merit or demerit), long before then there would be serious disorders in the country. All the things for which Liberalism stands and in which Liberals earnestly believe, would be in jeopardy. We paid a handsome price for the Naval Treaty because we held it was worth a bad Coal Bill. A Conservative delegation to the World Disarmament Conference next year would make that sacrifice entirely vain.

If we are frank we shall admit that it is imperative to have Labour bearing responsibility until unemployment begins to decrease. It is vital to have Labour a party to an Indian settlement. It is essential that Labour shall have a share in framing the future of colonial development, in black Africa above all.

But a Government with these vast issues before it cannot subsist on a majority which falls to two votes upon a Budget measure, and upon occasions has already disappeared altogether. The narrow escape on Wednesday will be proved, when circumstances are known, to have been an accident. It was very nearly a fatal accident, but as the sudden proximity of danger sometimes reforms careless drivers, it may be that this accident will be a lucky one. For there was carelessness on this occasion. It was surely a happy-go-lucky business that allowed half the Liberals in the House of Commons to saunter into the Opposition Lobby in defence of an amendment which not one of them could have regarded as vital to the unemployment problem which lay behind it. I voted in that lobby myself, and certainly regarded it as no more than a motion with a useful idea at the back of it which might be thoughtfully considered on Report stage. Those who abstained did so not because they feared a crisis, but because they thought the terms of the motion not satisfactorily drawn. Nobody thought of a Government defeat, least of all the Whips. That was carelessness on our part.

There was carelessness on the Government side. First in Mr. MacDonald's casual consideration of a suggestion made to him by Mr. Lloyd George as a contribution towards his problem of stimulating trade. Second, in the understanding that Mr. Snowden should give a conciliatory reply—a thing which comes not easily to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Carelessness of these kinds amounts in the present state of the nation's business to culpable negligence.

Since the Liberal-Labour conversations began—and it should be borne in mind that they sprang out of Mr. Lloyd George's own generous offer—the Liberals in the House of Commons have been content to leave the conduct of these delicate negotiations to the Leader. It is evident that they have now advanced a long way. But the Members of the Parliamentary Party find it increasingly difficult to answer the natural questions and inquiries of their chairman and officers and supporters in their divisions. It is infinitely harder for the gallant army of candidates in enemy constituencies who are to-day hanging on doggedly to the territory they won a year ago. They are told nothing of the front line, and they cannot satisfy their adherents with stories of lively guerilla skirmishes as Members are sometimes able to do.

The Labour Members of the House of Commons know no more than the Liberals. Yet in the lobbies there is a better feeling between them than at any time since the War. On Wednesday night, while Ministers were indignantly expounding their astonishment and condemnation to the

eager lobby men, the rank and file of the Government and the rank and file of the Liberals were saying, "I hope this doesn't mean the end of co-operation." It would not mean the end of co-operation if they knew and we knew.

But unless the broad plan of co-operation is known, it is not unlikely that this great body of Members, who genuinely are seeking work, will be unemployed except in denouncing one another. Some of them are poles apart. Between the bulk of private Members of both Parties there is almost nothing as far as an immediate programme goes.

Labour Members have the advantage at least of supporting measures brought in by their own Government. But the Liberals, most of whom fought Labour a year ago, are required to give a general support to those measures, knowing nothing as to how far their own proposals are being considered.

They are beginning to ask, therefore, that if there is to be an Agreed Programme—and almost everybody hopes that so obviously sensible a thing will come—that there should be a definite understanding between the Parties through their Whips in order to spare us another accident. There should be a plain statement from the negotiators on the progress of their talks and on the subject of them. And if there is to be a national effort to meet and beat the terrors of the tenth winter of unemployment, the great mass of five millions who voted Liberal a year ago should be asked through the Annual Conference to confirm the contribution of their representatives in the House towards the joint attack on the nation's problem.

Nothing short of a Crusade, since Crusades are the order of the day, will serve. The Liberal vote in the constituencies is amazing in its patient loyalty. It is the unattached vote which is drifting away. Members of Parliament who go only into their own fastnesses are assured of a hearty welcome, for the Member is still the great man. But those who go into other parts know that we are giving our people in the enemy constituencies nothing to say. How are they to explain Wednesday's confusion? How are they to fight the greatest tariff drive for twenty years with empty hands? How are they going to strengthen our Members in the House of Commons by abusing a Government we are supporting or a Party that is not in office? The Parliamentary Party will have to find an answer before we separate next month, for by the time we meet again the country will be in the toils.

FRANK OWEN.

J'Y SUIS J'Y RESTE

"The important thing is that the Labour Government remains in office."—MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

HERE we remain—Not that men love us much
But that, perchance, they hate our rivals more;
At least, a new election seems a bore—
Hence our majority of two we clutch
And keep the seals and salaries as before.
Here we remain.

Here we remain—Our hopes have all gone west;
Our programme falls in ruins round our head;
The I.L.P. look up and are not fed;
It seems our pledges will not stand the test.
Are we down-hearted? No! When all is said,
Here we remain.

Here we remain—But ask not how or why;
Ask not what we have done or yet may do,
Nor if old worlds have been exchanged for new
In strict accordance with our battle-cry.
Let what suffices us suffice for you—
Here we remain.
MACFLECKNOE.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

IS THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM INSOLUBLE ?

SIR,—Mr. Drysdale, in attributing unemployment largely to the shortsighted policy of Trades Unions has had the courage to state what everyone knows to be the truth. But it is not the whole truth. Trades Unionism itself owed its strength largely to bad distribution, and, while the present system of penalizing work in order to palliate unemployment is even worse, it is unlikely that a purely reactionary policy will appeal to the sufferers in either camp. Nor can there be any immediate economic necessity, for the nation as a whole, of birth control when the costs of food and fuel and other primary products are lower, in terms of wages, than ever before.

There is, in fact, no doubt that Sir Henry Strakosch in his memorandum on "The Economic Consequences of Changes in the Value of Gold" has put his finger on the primary cause of current economic troubles. At the same time, the passing of the Trades Disputes Act which sanctioned an artificial system of maintaining wages was a gamble on the prospect that the increase of knowledge and organization would bring about a more or less continuous fall in the cost of supplying the world demand for gold; and now that the gamble has failed owing to the economic disturbance caused by the War on the one hand, and, on the other, for want of the opportune discovery of larger gold-bearing areas comparable to South Africa, it seems to be up to the Liberal Party to put forward a constructive policy for relieving the situation.

The policy of the banks in utilizing private deposits for the spasmodic inflation of credit rather than for the steady reduction of the burden of debt has been shortsighted, and if the Liberals were in office much could probably be done to reduce the burden of taxation and encourage industrial reorganization (rather than the boosting of "trade") by a Treasury policy designed to explore the possibilities of short-term borrowing to pay off long-term debts and convert them to a lower rate of interest; but such a policy would have no electioneering value, and it is difficult to see how the Liberal Party can avoid facing the fact that artificially maintained wages must be balanced by artificially raised prices when the cost of supplying the world's demand for gold is increasing—if industry is to be maintained.

Surely it would be better to admit the necessity for a general tariff—import duties balanced, in theory, by corresponding bounties on exports (amounting altogether to an artificial reduction in the value of gold)—and to work out a constructive policy on these lines, than to adopt a negative attitude of objection to tariffs of any kind, on general principles which were abandoned when the right of Trades Unions to maintain wages by concerted action was first officially conceded.—Yours, &c.,

Ashurst, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
July 14th, 1930.

A. C. DOBBS.

EMPIRE FREE TRADE

SIR,—Mr. McCurdy, an ex-Liberal M.P., and Liberal Minister in the Coalition Government, is exhorting Liberals to abandon their Free Trade principles and join the crusade which, if given its proper title, must be called Empire Protection.

Can he guarantee that, if a new British Government under Empire Free Trade will put a protective duty upon wool and hides coming in from sources outside the Empire, Canada and Australia will reciprocate by admitting British-made boots and leather goods, woollens and hosiery, free of duty, or at any really substantial reduction of the present tariff?

Can he also guarantee that the duty imposed on hides and wool will not increase the price of these raw materials to our boot and hosiery manufacturers, or, alternatively, that any increase in price will be offset by a corresponding increase in production and a decrease in the number of unemployed?

Here, in my judgment, is the crux of the whole dispute. The basic industries of the Dominions are agricultural. Australian apples, South African oranges—these are increasingly important factors in the development of local and imperial prosperity. They have had to make their way into our markets in the face of fierce competition. They have done so, just as, I doubt not, the small but developing trade in Australian currants will make its way against the powerful volume of the Greek currant trade. Competition has been the life-blood of these industries. Why should it not be just as good for the new manufacturing industries of the Dominions?

But can I see Mr. McCurdy persuading manufacturers in Canada, Australia, and South Africa of the excellence of his grand crusade? Not very clearly, I fear. Perhaps he will reassure me in your columns.—Yours, &c.,

A. E. NEWBOULD, M.P., 1919-22, West Leyton.
57, Arthur Road, Wimbledon Park, S.W.19.
July 12th, 1930.

FAMILY ALLOWANCES

SIR,—In your issue of July 5th you stated that "The early experiments in family allowance systems in France, Belgium, and Germany were the direct outcome of the post-war inflation period, and have been for the most part abandoned since the stabilization of Continental currencies." May I correct the impression which such a statement is likely to have created in the minds of your readers?

In both France and Belgium the application of family allowances has made steady and rapid progress since the war; the Belgian Chamber has just passed a law making the payment of allowances compulsory on all employers, and a similar Bill has been tabled by the French Government. In Belgium the total number of workers covered before the introduction of the new law amounted to over 800,000. In France, out of a total of 8,500,000 industrial workers, approximately 4,500,000 are employed in establishments which pay family allowances, and the total annual payments amount to more than 1,500,000,000 francs.

As to Germany, it is true that the family allowance system there was introduced largely as an expedient to mitigate the hardships of the inflation period, and that it has since declined in certain industries. This is probably due largely to the fact that, the system being regarded as temporary, it was not accompanied by the safeguard of equalization funds, which in France and Belgium prevented the danger of discrimination against married men. In the coalmining industry, however, the payment of allowances is provided for in all district agreements, and in the Civil Service and in the banking and insurance companies the allowances form an important addition to wages. The system is also applied in the clothing, chemical, metal, and textile industries, and among clerical workers in certain districts.—Yours, &c.,

MARJORIE E. GREEN.

18, Abingdon Street, S.W.1.
July 15th, 1930.

THE TREATY WITH IRAQ

SIR,—In your paragraph of July 5th you approve very highly of the Treaty by which we evacuate Iraq and leave the Arabs of that country to full independence. There are, however, certain facts to be considered. Non-Arab types of various nationalities and religions exist in the country, viz., Chaldean, Assyrian, Yezidi, &c. These types all asked for "British government," and were told by our officials that it was not possible, but that a "benevolent government" would be guaranteed them: accordingly, when a Treaty was made (October, 1924, Baghdad) with the Arab Government, clause 3 in it declared that according to the organic law there should be "no discrimination made against these non-Arabs on grounds of race, language, or religion." That promise has been utterly and scandalously disregarded, and all the old methods of administrative oppression brought into use again, while all the old palliatives (e.g., Consular and ecclesiastical influence) have been removed.

I submit that, before we English hand over those who have served us well to the mercy of the Arabs, the least we can do is to secure that the League of Nations—to which the Arabs seek admission—shall inquire into the manner in which they have kept their own promises. They may be capable of governing themselves in the land British armies won for them. They have shown no evidence of capacity for governing others.—Yours, &c.,

W. A. WIGRAM.

The Athenæum.

July 14th, 1930.

"CENSORSHIP"

SIR,—“Ideal Marriage” was originally issued by the publishers with a note that it was intended solely for members of the medical profession. The London Library is not a library for medical and gynæcological books. Only one member asked for the book, and only one member, as far as I know, has resigned in consequence of its rejection. Rejection of books outside the scope of the London Library does not imply Censorship.—Yours, &c.,

C. HAGBERG WRIGHT,
Secretary and Librarian.

London Library, St. James's Square, S.W.1.
July 14th, 1930.

SIR,—I have read with dismay Miss Stella Browne's announcement that the London Library has banned her translation of “Ideal Marriage,” thus depriving me and other members of our studies in erotic physiology and technique. But this is not all. I recently invited the Committee, with a view to making monogamous marriage more tolerable, to include among the periodicals purchased by the Library, *TIT-BITS*, the *PINK 'UN*, and the Authorized and Unabridged Edition of *LA VIE PARISIENNE*. Will it be believed that the Committee have banned these journals?

I understand that all the remaining members of the Library are resigning in consequence.

Doubtless it will be contended that the Library, being a private institution, may buy what books it likes. Such an absurd argument carries its own refutation. Clearly it is the duty of the Committee to purchase every book, paper, and periodical that is published, and if shelf-room is lacking there is plenty of parking space in St. James's Square.

Only thus can the Committee rid itself of the imputation of exercising an odious and tyrannical Censorship.—Yours, &c.,

A RESIGNING MEMBER OF THE LONDON LIBRARY.
King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.4.
July 15th, 1930.

THE MALTESE AFFAIR

SIR,—Of course, I unhesitatingly express regret to Mr. Alec Robertson for having misrepresented his previous letter. I had no intention of doing so. I did not profess to quote his *ipsissima verba*, but only to sum up what his remarks seemed to amount to. Certainly, taking his letters as a whole, it appeared to me to come to this: A man is “no Catholic” who does not support (or, at least, who opposes) such policies as that of the Vatican and the Maltese clergy. I gladly accept Mr. Robertson's repudiation of such an interpretation of his meaning. Will he say frankly that a loyal Roman Catholic may without reproach oppose the Vatican and the Maltese clergy in this affair? It seems to me the whole point is that the hierarchy are trying to deny the legitimate political liberties of the laity. Does Mr. Robertson repudiate their right so to do?—Yours, &c.,

J. W. POYNTER.

Highbury, N.5.

BANK CHARGES

SIR,—“Borrower's” letter in your issue of May 17th, 1930.

A Bank rate of 5 per cent. makes one's mouth water. The standard rate here has always been and still is 8 per

cent. compound—calculated daily and debited monthly—although, I believe, influential borrowers can sometimes get a more economic rate.

The exploiting banks are Barclay's Overseas, National of India, and Standard of South Africa.—Yours, &c.,
N. E. F. C.

British East Africa.

June 15th, 1930.

SPEED

SIR,—As Mr. Richard Wilson has again, in a very recent issue, returned to the question of “motors and speed,” you will, perhaps, allow me to revert to this important matter, especially as at the moment it is impossible for me to deal with the Maltese affair owing to being away from most of my books and papers.

I read Mr. Parnell's “reply” to my original letter with much amusement for several reasons—not least because he failed to give any adequate answer to my query: Why should anyone wish to drive motor-cars along the roads at speeds of fifty miles per hour and more? In the following issue (May 17th) Mr. Parnell was “flattened out” in some respects by three other correspondents, including the above Mr. Wilson. But as the average, and even the unaverage, person becomes a “speed-merchant” as soon as he or she possesses a car, I wrote my original letter and gave a sort of personal background just to show that at least one individual, who was far from being a “speed pacifist” and who in the motoring sense “had done and foreseen things,” could object to the total abolition of the speed limit—an abolition that is now a fact in the draft of the proposed new Act.

When Mr. Parnell was not uttering the veriest platitudes (e.g., as to the usefulness of a motor-car in visiting different places adjacent to one another) known to everybody, he was *actually confirming my expressed desires* on this speed question, as, for instance, that there should be roads where comparatively high *minimum* speeds should operate as in U.S.A.—these roads, in my opinion, should, however, be very “special” roads, properly safeguarded.

At other times Mr. Parnell was making all sorts of erroneous assumptions about me. It may interest your readers to learn that though I have travelled much in out-of-the-way parts of Europe, I know my England fairly well, including the country between Oxford and the Severn. Some of my earliest motoring efforts were accomplished in that area, and only some four years ago I traversed that fine road from Oxford to Stratford-on-Avon, and on the open undulating section before and after Enstone touched and held fifty-eight miles per hour for quite a while, so my companion beside me informed me. This was my “record” speed on the open public highway until last Derby Day. I was a member of a party going to the Derby in a friend's car. We were so late, owing to ignition trouble, in leaving the Richmond Bridge neighbourhood that we had to “step on the gas,” and did sixty-four m.p.h. (so I was told) along the Kingston by-pass, which fortunately was very clear of traffic. This enabled us to get to the race-course with three minutes to spare, and in time to back Blenheim. Normally, I would not trust myself in the same car with the owner driving it as he did on this occasion. I take no pride at all in this sort of speeding.—Yours, &c.,

“TOURNEBROCHE.”

July 14th, 1930.

“REALITY”

SIR,—Referring to Mr. Stuart Hodgson's verse in your issue of July 5th, was it not at Argos, and not at Abydos, that the madman lived of whom he writes? I presume the allusion is to Horace, *Epistles* II., 2:—

In vacuo lætus sessor plausorque theatro.

—Yours, &c.,

C. R.

Berne.

July 11th, 1930.

THREE POEMS

THE WILLOW TREE

THE willow by the weedy stream
Hangs out her withies like a shawl's
Grey dimness round a face a-dream
And heedless of Time's intervals.

Some witch, well-sprinkled ages gone,
Might still so stand beneath the spell
And watch the water running on,
And wait for some new miracle

To give her life again and speech,
An ear to hear, a voice to cry
Against her binding and beseech
The listless water running by.

Dead leaves float onward, slowly won
Toward the sluice, toward the sea;
The willow stands till Time is done,
Fast-rooted in her Faërie.

WILFRID THORLEY.

THE ENTERPRISE

Down the long street he limps with anxious eye
Upon the close-shut doors, as he goes by,
Hoping to see them open to his cry—
Old rags and bones and rabbit-skins!

While in a tenement, as he goes by,
A baby, opening a dazzled eye
And uttering a first bewildered cry,
The enterprise of life begins.

The old man does not hear the baby cry;
And it, regarding life with puzzled eye,
Knows naught of the old hawker passing by
To whom the journey it begins

Is but a limping down long streets, with eye
Upon the close-shut doors, as he goes by
Hoping to see them open to his cry—
Old rags and bones and rabbit-skins!

WILFRID GIBSON.

IN THE TRAIN

THE train halted beside the cemetery.
I had passed it, day after countless day, before;
But not until now, as I sat in the motionless carriage,
Had that graveyard really been a graveyard to me—
Filled with the bones of men and women who once
Had human passions like mine; who once were gay
And sad; who loved and hated, mourned and jested and
feared;

Who snatched at their few brief passing hours of gladness;
And then, by the different avenues of age,
Accident, or disease, left the bright sun for ever
To lie in the cold and darkness here. . . . But then
It came to me that perhaps, after all, the dead
Live trulier than we whom life still holds;
And, musing on how indeed it may fare with them
Whose headstones mark the vanished years of flesh,
I felt our concrete world grow shadowy;
And I became less real to myself
Than the departed, hovering round me, were.
They were the living, I the wraith: until
I heard the hiss of a wire and the thudding fall
Of a signal-arm, and the train, with its eager whistle,
Jerked me back to "reality" once more.

GILBERT THOMAS.

THE DOCTRINE OF HELL

BY ONE OF THE UNORTHODOX.

"Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him." (1 Cor. ii. 9.)

BUT for them that love him not—for the unbelieving, for the wicked, and even for the careless—how terrible is the doom! So at least our fathers taught us. The contrast, indeed, was startling. For the elect, a kingdom of ineffable delight; for the rest, hell. And yet it must be admitted that if the words of Holy Scripture were to be taken in their plain and natural sense, it was impossible to avoid this conclusion. Consider, for example, that last discourse which the Lord addressed to his disciples on the day before his death. He tells them of the coming destruction of Jerusalem and of that other day that is to follow, when the sign of the Son of man shall appear in heaven, and he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet to gather together his elect; he warns them to be vigilant and ready. They must not be like the five foolish virgins, who forgot to put oil in their lamps, so that they came late to the marriage, and when they cried, "Lord, Lord, open to us," he answered, "Verily, I know you not"; nor must they be like the timid servant who hid his talent in the earth, and was cast by order of his Lord into outer darkness, into the place of weeping and gnashing of teeth. And then, as if to sum up the argument, he tells them the well-known parable of the sheep and the goats:—

"When the Son of man," he says, "shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. . . . Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. . . . And these shall go away into everlasting punishment: but the righteous into life eternal." (Matt. xxv. 31-46.)

What could be plainer or more terrifying? The punishment was to be everlasting; the doom irrevocable; and though the test imposed in the parable was not a hard one—for who would hesitate to perform the ordinary works of mercy, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, or to visit the sick and the prisoners, if he could thus be sure of escaping the damnation of hell?—yet it seemed from other passages in the Gospels that the way of escape might not always be so easy. Are we not warned that we must be ready, if necessary, to cut off a hand or foot, or pluck out an eye in order to secure our place in the Kingdom, since it is better to enter into life maimed or halt, or with one eye, rather than with two hands or two feet or two eyes to be cast into hell?

"into the fire that never shall be quenched: where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." (Mark ix. 45-48.)

St. Peter, too, reminds us of the extreme difficulty of salvation. It will be difficult enough, he says, even for the righteous.

"And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?" (1 Pet. iv. 18.)

There could be only one answer.

So arose the doctrine which is still held by many thousands of respectable men and women—the doctrine that Almighty God, in the words of the Dean of St. Paul's,

is "an implacable and ferocious torturer" of the beings He has created, and that in vindication of His justice a great part of mankind are doomed to suffer through unending ages the torments of hell. It was a doctrine which until quite recently was an almost undisputed part of the Christian system.

As to the number of the damned, there was, no doubt, considerable divergence. In the opinion of St. Denys the Carthusian, they were probably far more numerous than the saved, the angels, and the devils all put together. The saved, he said, might roughly be compared to the handful of people who escaped with Noah as against the multitudes who perished in the Flood. And St. Bernardino of Siena reminds us that the number of Israelites who went forth out of Egypt to the Promised Land was six hundred thousand, of whom all but two perished for their own sins in the desert. St. Thomas Aquinas, however, while having no doubt as to the preponderance of the damned over the saved, would have us remember that God alone knows the number; and the modern tendency has been to make the muster-roll of hell a comparatively small affair; for the doctrine of hell, as Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith observes, has lost its popularity.†

But whether the damned were many or few, and whatever the nature of their punishment—for the lake of fire could hardly be taken literally—there was no dispute as to its duration.

"Imagine," says St. Denys, "a mountain of sand as large as the universe, and that every hundred thousand years a grain be taken from it. The mountain will disappear at last. But after such an inconceivable space of time the sufferings of hell will not have diminished, and will not be nearer the end than when the first grain was removed."

And Abbot Butler, in a "reasoned statement" of the teaching of the Catholic Church, is not less explicit:—

"In truth, the real crux of hell is its eternity. . . . It is the eternity that appals. Yet the Catholic Church holds that it must be accepted as the plain teaching of Christ . . . the lot of the lost is irremediable."‡

But what was to be the attitude of the saved at the sight of the souls in hell? It was a commonplace of mediæval theology that they would regard it as a subject of rejoicing.

"That the saints in Heaven," wrote St. Thomas Aquinas, "may enjoy their happiness and the grace of God more richly, a perfect view is granted them of the tortures of the damned."

And the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D.D., one of the most famous of American preachers, in his book entitled "The Eternity of Hell Torments," has recorded a similar view:—

"The Scriptures," he says, "are very express and abundant that the eternal punishment of the wicked will consist in sensible misery and torment, and not in annihilation. . . . The sight of hell torments will exalt the happiness of the saints for ever. . . . It will make them more sensible of their own happiness; it will give them a more lively relish of it; it will make them prize it more."

So the saintly John Wesley tells us, with evident satisfaction, that:—

"Although the damned have uninterrupted night it brings no interruption of their pain. . . . And be their suffering ever so extreme, be their pain ever so intense, there is no possibility of their fainting away, no not for a moment."

Such views as these are at first repugnant to our modern sensibilities. They remind us of that well-known verse in the Psalms:—

"The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance: he shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked." (Ps. lviii. 10.)

We do not feel the desire to do so. But if the vengeance is a Divine vengeance, if the eternal punishment of the ungodly is the perfect vindication of the Justice of God, is it not the duty of His saints to rejoice at the contemplation of it? They must praise Him for all His works; they must give Him thanks for inflicting so cruel a punishment. Not to do this were to impugn His righteousness.

It is remarkable, indeed, as this latest book shows, how strong is the hold of this old doctrine even upon modern Christianity. The eminent writers of these essays, who represent every school of religious thought, are very busy in explaining the meaning of hell. They rationalize it; they soften it; they justify it; at times they almost apologize for it; they love to speak of it as a great mystery; but they will not give it up.

In the opinion of the Dean of St. Paul's it is hardly too much to say that heaven and hell stand and fall together, and he is indignant with "our modern guides" who would banish fear from religion. To Dr. W. E. Orchard the doctrine of hell is "the very keystone of Christian theology"; and the Rev. F. W. Norwood believes in hell, so he assures us, as he believes in man. And yet you feel as you read their laboured explanations that they are none of them very happy about it; so that it is a relief to turn to another book on the subject published by the same publishers last year.§ Dr. Dearmer, the author of it, has, at any rate, no doubts on the subject. To him the whole conception is "wicked, shocking, and monstrous." His object, he says, is "not so much to refute a doctrine which in its barbarity needs little further disproof . . . but rather to help clear away the taint of it which still hangs in the air." His task is perhaps more formidable than he supposes; but let us at least wish him success.

THE SILENCE OF MR. CHAPLIN

IT has always been assumed that the only screen actor who need never make a talking picture is Charlie Chaplin.

The reason given is that Chaplin is a master of pantomime: but though as an observation this is certainly true, as a reason it is undoubtedly inadequate.

For the argument depends on the assumption that a talking picture must depend primarily on talk. This assumption is derived from the analogy of the stage play, the cinema being no stranger to the methods of analogy which have so long been fashionable as an alternative to deep thought. As usual, the analogy is false. In the theatre drama must ordinarily proceed from the dialogue. This is necessitated by the nature of stage presentation; the Lyceum in its melodrama days was merely kicking against the pricks. In the cinema, however, the conditions are quite different. The cinema has certain special qualifications that fit it for presenting action, and its drama can be as easily created by dramatic action as by dramatic dialogue. The Lyceum melodramas, as a matter of fact, were exploiting the cinema's own speciality, so much so that one can imagine Macaulay's New Zealander, after discovering in Victorian academicians subconscious desires to be photographers, going on to explain the Lyceum in terms of a thwarted desire to be a picture theatre.

Let us now inquire a little deeper (since one may not always skim cheerfully over the surface) exactly what these qualifications are which enable the cinema to utilize action

* From "What We Mean by Hell," in "What is the Real Hell?" (Cassell, 8s. 6d.)

† Ibid., p. 75.

‡ Ibid., p. 82.

§ "The Legend of Hell." By the Rev. Percy Dearmer, D.D. (Cassell, 7s. 6d.)

so much more fully than the theatre can. In the first place, of course, there is the power which it possesses of transporting into the auditorium a scene enacted in the outside world. An Arab cavalcade, for instance, charging at full gallop towards the spectator, then flashing past and away into the distance: there is drama in that, even in the middle of a paltry Sheikh film. The next stage is the football match on which the hand of the heroine depends (see any American college film) or the storming of the Winter Palace on which the fate of the Revolution depends (see any Russian film). Here is drama extracted from action unsupported by dialogue. And it is drama that is quite impossible to represent on the stage. The theatre, of course, replies that it can suggest such action by noises off, and it adduces a specious argument to prove the direct method less effective (*i.e.*, the grapes sour). But the fact remains that noises off are only adequate for one particular species of drama; if we want to present the whole spectacle of action, with its excitement, grandeur, or futility, then we need the resources of the cinema, which brings the real scene into the theatre before the eyes of the audience.

We are still, however, in the neighbourhood of the Lyceum, and it must not be suggested that the cinema need always think of action in terms of spectacle—even though it usually does. Consider the pet climax of D. W. Griffith (he has acquired so much of the quality of an Old Master that the “Mr.” may presumably be omitted). The heroine is fighting in the arms of the villain. The hero, by every conceivable mode of transport, is making his way to her rescue. Claps and hisses from the “four-pennies” demonstrate their emotion. “Will he come in time?” is the thought in the mind of the audience (who, of course, inhibit the obvious conviction that he will). They are being held, not by the spoken word, but by action, assisted only by a technique that is purely cinematic. The example may seem a trivial one: but it does demonstrate the possibilities of the method of intercutting convergent actions, a method which, even in its most primitive application, can create a non-theatrical drama out of physical action.

Nor is this aspect of the cinema assisted only by a facility for presenting the actual scene and a facility for intercutting separate actions. The division of an action into separate shots—the power of the camera to isolate in succession those elements in the scene to which the spectator is to attend—this is of tremendous utility in bringing out the significance of action. A quick close-up at a significant moment speaks volumes—and may save the actor saying anything at all. A shot of the nervous play of the hands, if presented at the right time, may be an efficient substitute for a section of intricate stage dialogue. These again are primitive examples, but they hint at considerable possibilities, and with the other methods already detailed they should suffice to show how it is that the screen can extract more drama from action than the stage ever could. They should make it clear that the relative importance of dialogue and action is not the same in the talking picture as it is in the stage play (or, for that matter, as it was in the other extreme, the silent picture); and as a final result, that, unless we continue to treat the talking picture machine as a new toy and still want to see the wheels go round, it is in no way necessary for talk to be the primary element in a talking picture.

This brings us back to Mr. Chaplin, whom we left in the first paragraph, meditating in his tent on his skill as a pantomimist. If talk is not necessarily the thing in talking pictures, this particular excellence need not debar him from taking the plunge; there is no reason why, in a properly constructed talking picture, it should not be as delightfully

exercised as ever. This is what the foregoing argument sets out to prove. But it may not have succeeded, and anyway the entertainment world, so often deluded by engaging argument, is distrustful of logic. We have therefore a practical example in reserve, for our own conclusion has already been demonstrated in practice.

Two comedians, Laurel and Hardy, were called upon to make a series of short talking pictures. They had considerable skill in pantomime, but no reason to suppose that they would be expert in putting dialogue across. In the films that they made, therefore, dialogue is used, not so much as a virtue, as a convenience. There is none of the cross-talk that we should expect; the humour comes, not from the dialogue, but from the old repertory of slapstick. This does not mean that dialogue is not used to any purpose, that the films are silent films masquerading as talking pictures for the benefit of the box-office. Dialogue is used for exposition and explanation, where two years ago the producer would have been compelled to fall back on the cumbersome and pedestrian device of the printed subtitle. In this way Laurel and Hardy make the best of both worlds. On the one hand, they have the assistance of sound to expedite what was always a clumsy department of the silent film, and on the other, they are allowed to retain their complete stock-in-trade as pantomimists.

This is what Chaplin might do. It is no good reiterating that he is so clever at pantomime. That we now dismiss as irrelevant. It is no good being obscurantist about “Chaplin’s own individual style,” that does not fit in with talking pictures. Laurel’s style is closely comparable with Chaplin’s, he was his understudy for years; and his style has fitted in perfectly with the right kind of talking picture. Nor is it possible to raise the spavined old argument about the talking pictures being a naturalistic medium and pantomime being non-naturalistic: Chaplin is a clown, and clowns are not expected to be natural in silent pictures, in talking pictures, on the Front Bench, or anywhere else. And anyway, all counter arguments can be spiked by considering what the best Chaplin pictures would look like remade in talk. Contrary to popular belief, they would not be greatly changed. Chaplin’s part would be virtually unaltered: he rarely if ever opened his mouth in a silent picture, and need not now. But if the other characters talked, necessary explanations and plot developments on their part would be got over the sooner. Chaplin would then have an even wider opportunity for exploiting his genius for pantomime; for we should get the rest of the picture over quicker, a blessing both to the unfortunate actors who are condemned to keep us waiting for the star, and to the enthusiastic audiences who want as much of Mr. Chaplin as can possibly be crammed into six thousand feet of celluloid.

ROBERT STEVENSON.

PLAYS AND PICTURES

“The Importance of Being Earnest,” Lyric Theatre, Hammer-smith.

IT is more than thirty-five years since the first performance of “The Importance of Being Earnest,” and the play is still beautifully fresh and enjoyable. I think one can now say that it is the best English comedy written since the decay of the Restoration drama. Its chief weakness is that, like “Macbeth,” it is so full of quotations. The current production at the Lyric Theatre gets a laugh with almost every line. Miss Mabel Terry-Lewis gives an extravagantly good performance as Lady Bracknell: I wish every actress in London would go to see her style. Mr. John Gielgud, fresh from his success in the less difficult rôle of Hamlet, plays Ernest subtly and most effectively, and Miss Cadell acts Miss Prism as if the part had been written

specially for her. The two young ladies were less satisfactory, the Cecily in particular having caught an unfortunate touch of Polly Peachum from the Lyric atmosphere. Sir Nigel Playfair has had the idea of producing the play in would-be Beardsley sets. Everything is black and white, except the faces and hands of the players, which look obscenely pink. Beardsley was a remarkable creature, but imitations of his style are invariably horrid, and the several attempts I have seen to apply his style to the theatre have all been disastrous. Moreover, half the value of the *coup de théâtre* when Ernest appears in mourning is lost at Hammersmith, where the scene is a garden in which even the rose-bushes are already in funereal black. In spite of this "artiness," let us be grateful to Sir Nigel for producing this masterpiece and for finding three such admirable artists to play in it.

"The Macropulos Secret," Arts Theatre Club.

The theme of the prolongation of life for novels and plays is in danger of becoming an obsession. The chief virtue of such a theme is that it affords elaborations which lie outside well-worn tracks, though the undiscovered country is being steadily explored, and reports as to its nature differ profoundly. The vice of the theme, on the other hand, is that the elaborations, while avoiding the common ruts, as well as the flights and diversions of pure fantasy, but rarely impinge on reality at all. Carel Kapek's play is certainly a new variation on the "three hundred years of human life" theme. But if the idea that terrible boredom and increasing fear of death would be part of the lot of a long-liver among short-livers has not occurred to anyone before, that is not in itself sufficient reason to found a play on it; and indeed a cogent reason for writing "The Macropulos Secret" would be hard to find. It is an inhuman business, and though the play is described as a comedy it lacks humour, even if it is sometimes witty. The most striking thing about it is the author's inventive capacity, which is not unexpected, but the organization of his ideas is always arbitrary. There is no inevitability about the characters or their behaviour. No fault can be found with Mr. Paul Selver's translation (at any rate by one without a knowledge of the original), and the cast at the Arts Theatre did full justice to the material. Miss Edith Sharpe and Messrs. Gyles Isham and Donald Wolfitt were particularly good.

Triple Bill, Players' Theatre.

What induced Mr. Shaw to write such playlets as "The Fascinating Foundling"—for it is not the only one of the kind he has written—it would be hard to tell, but we may be thankful for them, because it is nice to be able to pat ourselves on the back while enjoying them, though we know perfectly well all the time that if they were by anyone else we should be sniffing or hissing. Mr. Shaw describes this extravaganza as "a disgrace to its author." So it is; but, as we long ago learned to expect his disgraces to be, a fascinating one. The Pakton Players enjoyed it infectiously, and they played it very well. Of the other two short pieces which completed a good evening's entertainment, "The House with the Twisty Windows" is not a story of love in a cottage, as the title might suggest, but of some English prisoners in Soviet Russia. Mr. Fred O'Donovan in the chief part was given some good opportunities by the author (Mary Pakington), and used them all to advantage. "The Madonna of the Golden Hart" hovers on the brink of sentimentality, but never quite drops. Miss Joan Harben as the barmaid Madonna was evidently conscious of the precipice, and acted subtly and successfully.

"In Gay Madrid," Empire Theatre.

It is scarcely possible to describe the dullness of this film. Made on the pattern of a hundred other "talkies," it is mechanical, inconceivably commonplace, without one spark of imagination, wit, or beauty. Even the sentiment, of which there is plenty, is of the dreary, conventional type which cannot even raise a smile at its own expense. The "Old Spanish" setting bears hardly more resemblance to old or modern Spain than it does to China: the only place

on earth where people live and behave like this is, presumably, Hollywood, or possibly the stage of an out-of-date musical comedy. Mr. Ramon Novarro does everything that is expected of him, from amorous conquest to the singing of several entirely un-Spanish songs, and the rest of the acting is characterized by an equally boring and uninspired competence.

Ruskin and Kate Greenaway.

Ruskin's manuscripts from Brantwood are to be dispersed at Sotheby's on the 24th. Whatever the state of his reputation, there is no disputing the gracefulness of these relics. One item (out of many) is the series of twenty-seven capacious notebooks (his intimate companions from 1835 to 1888), illustrated with pen-and-ink and water-colour drawings, minute and brilliant. In the same sale are included the numerous letters, almanacks, miscellaneous publications, and original drawings in colour or black-and-white with which Kate Greenaway charmed Ruskin's later life. We are reminded that the Hampstead Public Library possesses a wonderful collection of Kate Greenaway's work, to be seen every weekday except Wednesday between 10.30 a.m. and 7.30 p.m.

Eight Modern British Painters, Tooth's Galleries.

Magnasco Society, Spink & Son.

Among the eight modern British painters represented in Messrs. Tooth's well-selected exhibition two—J. D. Innes and Spencer Gore—died before the remarkable promise of their early careers could mature; the other six, who are still living, are Sickert, Wilson Steer, Augustus John, Duncan Grant, Matthew Smith, and Paul Nash. The prominence given in the exhibition to Augustus John, who has many more pictures here than any of the others, and a room to himself, is scarcely justified by the quality of the pictures exhibited. The best are the two very characteristic small single figures in a landscape—a type of study which is probably Mr. John's most important and individual contribution to English painting. The others, mostly portraits, appear rather superficially clever, brilliant though they are in technique, compared with Mr. Sickert's masterly tone and wide humanity of outlook, or Mr. Grant's solidity of form and subtle richness of colour, or the delicate atmospheric quality and sureness of touch of Mr. Wilson Steer—who is not as well represented here as he deserves. Another interesting exhibition is of "Landscape Pictures of Different Periods," the Magnasco Society's seventh loan exhibition (in aid of the Kensington, Fulham, and Chelsea General Hospital). Examples from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries include Cima, Patinir, Lucas Cranach the Elder, Tintoretto, Rubens, Canaletto, Ruysdael, the seventeenth-century Jean François Millet, Claude Lorrain, Richard Wilson, Poussin, and Corot.

* * *

Things to see and hear in the coming week:—

Saturday, July 19th.—

Sea Songs and Shanties, League of Arts' Choir, Hyde Park, 3 and 7.

Second Conference of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, Liberal Jewish Synagogue, and the West London Synagogue of British Jews (July 18th-22nd). Opening by H.M. the Queen of Crewe Hall, Hampstead Garden Suburb.

Sunday, July 20th.—

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, on "Your Daily Paper: What is Happening To It," Conway Hall, 11.

Dr. J. H. Hertz and Professor S. Brodetsky, at the Anglo-Jewish Conference, Kingsway Theatre, 8.30.

Tuesday, July 22nd.—

Colonel J. C. Wedgwood, on "Personalities and Politics of Past Parliaments," Wireless, 7.25.

Mrs. Sidney Webb, on "Can We Make British Parliamentary Government Equal to its Task?" Wireless, 8.30.

Thursday, July 24th.—

Mr. Francis Birrell, on "The Cinema," Wireless, 7.

OMICRON.

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

THE JAPANESE PILGRIMAGE

AMONG my memories of Japan, the figures of several men and women emerge as examples of vigilant Christianity, explaining well to the imagination the original conquest of the world by the followers of Christ; then there crowd upon me the countless citizens whose clogs clattered up the steps of temples and along the pavements under the eaves and between the stone lanterns, the pilgrims on the hillside paths, the priests in monasteries rather like Elizabethan barns with their cavernous and shadowy woodwork, the rhythmic, shouting, dancing labourers shouldering their shrines in every street on a certain day. I see the catafalques of dynasts, dark splendours of symbolical design; the cemeteries of the rank and file, simple rough-hewn monuments; the modern "sheepfold" like many other places of worship in the Christian world in respect of its yellow pews and tin roof; the small effigies of deities, with pictures or flowers laid below them by the hand of the votary, among the rice-fields. But, more than all this, what recurs is the sense that Japan now is a nation of no special religious feeling; not much inclined towards mystical apprehendings, though devotedly seeking the best principles of life and conduct; a country in which the absence of a Sabbath day is not an accident, but a sign of a general attitude.

I also remember the noble singleness of purpose, and extraordinary intellectual accomplishments, of a man who has been accepted for many years as a master of the subject of Japanese religion, Professor Masaharu Anesaki; and it is agreeable to have in one's hands the proof that his present labours in the reconstruction of the Imperial University Library at Tokyo have not prevented him from completing a work that he began at Harvard nearly twenty years ago. This is a "History of Japanese Religion" (Kegan Paul, 21s.), and, as Professor Anesaki at Harvard held the Chair of Japanese Literature and Life, the title naturally continues: "With Special Reference to the Social and Moral Life of the Nation." I shall attempt to summarize this survey, which indeed begins with a summary of Japanese origins and developments, resulting in a comment on the present time: "Religion is naturally involved in this perplexing situation" of alternating faith and doubt in industrial civilization and imposed culture. This done, Professor Anesaki recedes into the early world of Shinto—the name he attributes to the sixth century, as needed then "to distinguish the native religion from Buddhism"—an attractive world where some deities shone like fireflies, devils buzzed like flies, trees and herbs had power of speech, the miraculous was manifest. Under this name of Shinto trooped fact and fancy, poem and proverb; the Sun, friend of man, became the central, sovereign lord of Japan; yet, where so close an existence with nature was the way, many a fairy, many an "unseen genius" occupied the nooks and corners of belief. Customs acquired their practical effects, and Shinto temples grew up and remained sylvan huts, with ceremonial "peculiarly pure and solemnly quiet."

In the stream of art and idea which Japan received from the mainland, Buddhism duly arrived. It came with credentials, the charge of a delegation from Korea, to the court of Yamato. The court took sides, but Buddhism triumphed, bringing with it, to use a parallel, the minster instead of the village church, and reflecting its system of spiritual significances in finely touched attitudes of statuary. The Nara period matured, magnificent and complex. In the eighth century the Buddhist edifice in Japan was immense, and sheltered new graces of feeling and aspiration. Miyako (or Kyoto) was the new capital, a place of obvious natural beauty to which the Japanese shaped their ambitions in art and rite, and whence naturally proceeded a literature of symbolic teaching. Professor Anesaki gives us studies of this in an estimate of Kukai (774-835), who wrote of the troubles of an evangelist:—

"Vast, vast, extremely vast
Are the scrolls of yellow silk,
Hundreds and thousands 'In' and 'Out' "

(where "In" means Buddhism and "Out" Confucianism and Brahmanism); and of the final reach of the soul militant here on earth:—

"The Buddhas in the innumerable Buddha-lands
Are naught but the Buddha within our own soul;
The Golden Lotus, as multitudinous as the drops
Of ocean water, is living in our body."

All this was a long time ago; let us hurry forward to the man who combined the Sun and Lotus, about 1250; the fisherman's son, Nichiren. This original and fiery spirit was a kind of Wesley; robust and popular, the preacher defied a supersubtle aristocracy in matters of theology. Many followers maintained his style and his sphere of appeal. To leap another tract of time is to come to the carpenter's son, now at length, "being dead," speaking to Japan. The year of Christianity's arrival was 1549, and Francis Xavier was a masterly exponent of its direct and indirect value. The "Kirishitan" converts in 1605 are said to have been 750,000 strong—a number far exceeding that of Japanese Christians at this moment. Even so, they were only a small band in that populous nation. Their fate, or rather the fate of the creed they had welcomed, was in the command of political suspicion, personified by such sharp-eyed grandees as Iyeyasu and Iyemitsu. What these men did is an old and dreadful story, "an end of the Kirishitan religion and the entire isolation of Japan from the world"; yet—such is the dream in which man walks the painful earth—when French missionaries came to Japan in 1859, they found Kirishitans. "The survivors," Professor Anesaki comments, "had indeed tenaciously held to their faith in a prophecy that they would meet *Padres* wearing black robes coming from Rome after seven generations."

Still advancing rather rudely through the ages, and accepting that familiar term "Bushido" as being a standard of gentle life perfected out of warlike origins during a long peace, we find the dramatic aspects of religion in Japan overcast by the decorations of a period corresponding to our Restoration period. Professor Anesaki draws our attention to the change of feeling that stirred from the silvered luxuriance, and to such women teachers of the eighteenth century as Kino (perhaps a Kirishitan in disguise, and certainly successful in preaching a Christianist gospel to the ordinary Japanese), and Miki (who announced the imminent arrival of the divine power, on a spot near her home). The nineteenth century awoke with a general anticipation of "a new kingdom of god or gods," confirmed when the black ships of Perry paid their visit in 1853. The nation, for all its dissensions and catastrophes caused by the breaking of the old barricades, was eager to receive animation in every mental and spiritual mood. Here again the story has been told over and over again; and it is as Professor Anesaki approaches the present time that one is especially aroused by his facts and his historical evaluations, and men appear in sight of singular religious pre-occupation, as, Takayama, Kiyozawa, and Tsunashima. "The spiritual undulation, so to speak, propagated itself without regard to distinction of creeds or denominations." And now, again to quote the illuminative author before us, "one outstanding feature of the spiritual and social ferment is the general discredit of all the existing religions." Japan at any rate can say that her new generation believe in one thing intensely—the application of one's powers to an ideal, and in discovering and following out that ideal the young men and women are delightful to watch. But they must go a long way to excel such sensibilities, such ardours, and such tranquillities as lie beneath the surface of Professor Anesaki's book.

EDMUND BLUNDEN.

REVIEWS

A MASTER OF THE MOB MIND

Northcliffe. By HAMILTON FYFE. (Allen & Unwin. 16s.)

A JOURNALIST, who did not like him, said of Northcliffe, "He is to-day, without any doubt, the most powerful man in England." And Northcliffe himself once, in an expansive moment, said to a friend, "No man shall hold office in England save by my grace." At the time it was not an empty boast. Yet Northcliffe to-day is almost a forgotten man. Historians of the future will probably devote to him much less space than to the Ministers whom he made and unmade—for a time. It is one of the curiosities of the kind of power which he embodied that, while it may be dominant at one moment, it seems to evaporate the next.

Yet it is worth far more examination by the student of social forces than it usually gets, especially at the moment when newspaper Lords threaten to take charge of the nation's destinies. Mr. Hamilton Fyfe's book furnishes very useful material for such a study. The book is by far the best biography of Northcliffe which has yet been written, though it would have been a still more useful one if the author had conceived his rôle much less as a defender of his subject's character and more as an exposition of the source of its power. From the public point of view it does not matter whether Northcliffe was conscious or unconscious of the mischief that he did, sincere or insincere. He might have replied to the question, "Do you really believe all that you have been saying lately?" as another public man replied, "How should I know?" That is not the question which is of most public concern.

Mr. Fyfe gives the essential facts. A young man coming to manhood in the England of the eighties, a time of intense intellectual and political ferment, of the beginnings of political labour and feminism; of Home Rule; of Fabianism, Positivism, Æstheticism; stirring with the work of William Morris, Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall, Newman, Carlyle, Herbert Spencer, Bradlaugh, Gladstone, Dilke, Parnell, and having to choose between the journalism which concerns itself with such things, and Tit-Bits, chooses Tit-Bits, as having "the greater future." Mr. Fyfe says that the choice was not unconscious and by instinct, but by design. However that may be, the young Harmsworth out-Tit-Bitted Tit-Bits: Mr. Fyfe writes:—

"He saw what its success signified, what might be gained by turning away from the old paths of journalism and exploiting the new readers, becoming more numerous yearly, and eager for 'something to read.'

"As the young man walks back to Hampstead, and as he ponders over the revelation which has come to him—over the Opportunity which gleams before his eyes—he sees the despised publication in a new light. He studies its pages, he understands why it is bought by so many. . . .

"Young politicians of that date are thrilling to the excitement of the Home Rule for Ireland issue. Will Mr. Gladstone offer self-government to the Irish? Will the Conservatives forestall him and buy the Irish vote in Parliament? The young Northcliffe is no politician. . . .

"Young painters and followers of art movements are interested in what they call the Impressionist Method and the founding of a certain New English Art Club. . . . But 'Art is not in his line,' he says, so he does not concern himself with the artists' quarrel.

"Uppermost in his mind is the ambition to make money. Not so much for the sake of money itself, rather because money stands as a symbol for success. There is an energy boiling up within him for which he must find an outlet. Writing does not carry it off. He does not belong to the writer type. He is a man of action, although he does not yet know it. He must create material things—things that the multitude can see, and understand, and admire. And now it has been revealed to him that material things of untold worth in money are waiting to be created in this year 1885."

And so you get this paradox: Because he turned his back on politics and the more serious public affairs and produced papers that relegated those things to secondary places in favour of the trivial, he came to have enormous power in politics and serious public affairs. Because he had the knack of exploiting police cases, or sport, or the bicycle, or men's fashions, in a way that caught the public eye, he came to have vast power in matters of government and morals, of war and peace and high policy.

But unfortunately he imported into political action the

same principles which guided him in journalism. Mr. Fyfe says: "He did not aim at making opinion less stable, emotion more superficial. He did this without knowing he did it, because it increased circulation." When he became Director of Enemy Propaganda, and later at the peace, he realized that a successful ending of the war, the prevention of its repetition, the saving of mankind from infamous horrors, and the general salvation of civilization, depended upon a reasonable settlement, upon treating the Germans as human beings. In the communications made to the Germans through his Propaganda Bureau he said so. It was the keynote of the communications made to them. The Germans were addressed from Crewe House, Mr. Fyfe tells us, in "accents of comradeship." Still later, in all the weary reparations futilities, Northcliffe insisted, privately, that the Germans must be allowed, indeed encouraged, to develop their trade and re-establish their prosperity.

In his papers, not merely was none of this private good sense allowed to appear, but the policy that it represented was deliberately made impossible. The public men who advocated it were hounded until they abandoned it or were driven from public life. "His own newspapers continued to shriek for a policy totally different, demanding that the Kaiser should be hanged and the Germans forced to pay the whole expense of the war. 'He has not said it,' was one of their slogans, repeated day after day as a reproach to Lloyd George for not immediately endorsing these demands. For months a warning to the British People that the Junkers would 'have them yet' was printed in large type and prominent position." When Wells—who was also a member of the Crewe House staff for a time—pointed out this discrepancy, the fact that Northcliffe's own newspapers were making a sane policy impossible, by creating a public temper which would never accept it, Northcliffe was merely irritated:—

"To Northcliffe the only thing that mattered was 'getting on with the job.' He never at any time in his life tried to think far ahead. His intellectual processes were not logical; they were intuitive. His imagination, limited in scope, was violent in its vigour. . . .

"The two activities, he declared irritably, had nothing in common (that was his genuine belief). He 'would not allow Wells to dictate to him what he should publish in his newspapers.' Wells's high voice rose higher and higher in the endeavour to make him appreciate the shocking illogicality of his position. The writer simply could not understand the man of action. Wells thought Northcliffe unprincipled; thought that he deliberately signed Memoranda in which he did not believe. Northcliffe did believe in them—for their purpose. To Wells, words seemed to be acts: they were binding, they were real. In Northcliffe's view they served merely the purpose of the hour."

Yes, but can the domination in politics of that sort of mind, the mind which makes impossible the purpose of to-morrow by violent exaggeration and distortion of the purpose of to-day, be anything but a public disaster, given the enormous difficulties which are bound to confront democracy at the best?

This inconsequence of mind, the failure to see the relation of one fact to another, seems to characterize many owners of popular newspapers. Mr. William Randolph Hearst, who can, from one day to another, turn from the most violent and unscrupulous Anglophobia to the advocacy of an alliance with Britain, and then as suddenly return to his tail-twisting, is an American case in point. Recent incursions of British newspaper proprietors into party politics illustrate the same thing. It seems to suggest that inconsequence of thought is part of that public mind to which these particular newspaper barons have appealed so successfully.

But, alas, their very success worsens and intensifies the disorder. In one suggestive passage Mr. Fyfe notes how Northcliffe had realized the power of newspaper suggestion in determining likes and dislikes, tempers, moods, values. The young Harmsworth has noted, his biographer records, "that the mass of the people have no tastes of their own; they will adopt any that fall in their way. Give them a great deal to read about any topic within their comprehension: they will think they are getting what they want, will ask for more."

So that it is not quite a matter of "giving the public what they want." They can be made in some measure to

want what the papers give them. It only emphasizes the responsibility of those who play the kind of rôle that Northcliffe played for his little moment to such supreme, momentous, and disastrous degree.

Why did he achieve so prodigiously the kind of success to which he aspired?

Someone said of him once that he had the common mind to an uncommon degree. To what the common mind felt mildly and vaguely Northcliffe gave vividness and force. But there was something more than that. He did not allow the ultimate triviality of the thing he was dealing with, the particular news stunt of the moment, to make its exploitation casual or slack. He insisted upon as much thoroughness being put into a blood-and-thunder serial for officeboys as a *Times* editor would put into a staid declaration of policy. He lived by and in his work—"What were we dining about that night?" he asks his wife. "Oh, yes, it was about those presses." The thing done might be unimportant; but he somehow made the doing of it seem important to those who helped him. He was magnetic; he created a sense in those about him of being a leader; he inspired loyalty. He knew, not only as journalist, but as the head of a great business and industrial concern, the enormous importance of the psychological element, the personal touch. He was an extremely generous employer, and did a vast amount to improve the status of the working printer and the working journalist. He really did value brains and intelligence; nursed them, encouraged them, rewarded them open-handedly. He may have employed his genius and his sometimes demoniac activity to bad ends; but it was none the less genius, splendid in the technique of the actual doing.

When one recalls this, and looks to-day at the fashion in which we have tackled, say, unemployment, one at least who knew Northcliffe has often longed for some reincarnation to put his genius and spirit, spent as they were to such poor purpose, behind some great purpose like the solution of that problem. Perhaps if accident had led him to some such job as that he might have ranked as one of the great characters of history. As it is. . . .

FROM PHYSICS TO SPECULATION

The Mechanism of Nature. By E. N. DA C. ANDRADE, D.Sc., Ph.D. (Bell, 6s.)

Beyond Physics, or The Idealization of Mechanism. By SIR OLIVER LODGE, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S. (Allen & Unwin, 5s.)

Physical and Social Science. By GRAHAM WALLAS, M.A., D.Litt. Huxley Memorial Lecture, 1930. (Macmillan, 1s.)

The scientific revolution is a breathless and unstable affair. To the average layman, the struggle to keep up with it is rather like walking on the waves without the equipment that should have been served out to prevent drowning. Usually he has plunged in half-way through the turmoil, to meet a flux of theories, developments, and counter-theories, with "popular" expositions based on facts which the authors optimistically assume as known. Since those two arch-revolutionaries, Rutherford and Einstein, wrecked its constitution, the universe grows yearly more intangible, till the term *reality* has become a bugbear scientists fight shy of, and the only certainty is that we cannot strike our foot triumphantly against a mighty stone, as Dr. Johnson or the Victorian physicists did, and get away with it.

It is not really anarchy; but didacticism at least is dead, and with it the firm barriers and frontiers that kept each science fenced in its own meadow, and set up physico-religious wars. Part of the excitement of the present age is that all laws of trespass are revoked, to produce a new synthesis and co-operation. Physical theories may grow more abstruse, but at the same time the uninitiated mortal finds it more important to keep up with them than in the old limited and exclusive days. Whether the art of the talking films or a philosophy of the universe is in question, the groundwork of the matter lies in physics.

Professor Andrade describes his book as "a simple approach to modern views on the structure of matter and radiation"; and the anxious reader, finding he can follow through chapter after chapter without floundering, may well breathe a sigh of gratitude and exclaim "At last!" Of

course, it is not the end but the beginning of the voyage. It ensures a good start into uncharted seas, with an equipment of compasses, weather-wisdom, seasick preventives, and life-saving apparatus. No technical knowledge is demanded; only intelligence and the gleam of imagination needed to grasp facts which, although physical, are not necessarily material. Of the new atomic theories dealt with here, popular accounts have already been written; but the particular merit of Professor Andrade's work is that it shows them growing out of the basic conceptions of energy, electricity, and radiation, held by modern physics. These basic principles are the very ones which, being considered elementary by the theorists, have often gone unexplained. Perhaps the whole superstructure has seemed dizzier, and the wizardry of the astrophysicists more diabolic, than they need appear once the underlying principles are made plain.

Even for these principles, finality and permanence are not to be expected. Physics, as Eddington remarks, must be content with plausibility. And plausibility shifts its ground with each discovery. "The man of science," writes Professor Andrade, "regards even his best theory as a makeshift thing to help him on his way, and is always on the look-out for something better and more comprehensive." This is just what makes the layman so impatient. If he has laboriously mastered yesterday's quantum laws, he must now turn to and learn to-morrow's theory, or else abandon his pretensions to keep up with life. It generally turns out that, like Alice and the Red Queen, he must run a great deal faster than he is doing if he means to *get* somewhere. And the refreshment at the end of it may taste suspiciously like dry biscuit, too.

For the moment Professor Andrade has routed the Red Queen. He smuggles the reader to the very brink of that somewhere on which the physicists are embarking now. There is not one dry biscuit, and the path is made so short and delectable that it is surprising how much ground is actually surveyed. The atom and its newest problem occupy the final chapter. Physicists are exploring a theory which gives to the atom the properties of both particles and waves. The question is a fundamental one for science, since, as Professor Andrade points out, "we must remember that anything that concerns the *material* side of life is an atomic question." The italics have been added by the reviewer. Actually, the word might have been "physical." For it is here, where Professor Andrade leaves off, that Sir Oliver Lodge begins, as the title of his book sufficiently indicates.

Speculation naturally begins when certainty can go no further; but the connection is closer than that. This very theory of the group-wave particle supplies Sir Oliver with a start. Actually, his aim is no less than to discover one of the ultimate secrets of the universe—the interaction between mind and matter. It is not the first time that philosophy has sought a solution in the physical world. Descartes put his faith in the pineal gland—with an argument for deity in the background. Sir Oliver's clue is in the ether. It is a plea for spiritual reality, strictly based on physics. Schrödinger's group wave mechanics lead up—almost too ingeniously, one might say—to the perception of a Universal Supreme Spirit. The theory certainly has this point in its favour, that while physicists will find it too speculative, psychical researchers may consider it too physical.

Briefly indicated, Sir Oliver's argument is this: The group waves in the ether which are connected with the thing we still call matter, are dependent on their interaction with other and inseparable constituent wave-forms whose velocity is greater than that of light. Is it not possible that these all-pervasive wave-forms that defy investigation are the vehicle of mind and spirit, the seat of primary and undifferentiated life? It must be admitted that the argument is fascinating. Sir Oliver's exact physical demonstration of the interaction between group and guiding waves makes a tempting analogy to the connection between matter and mind. If the theory were ever to be proved—though it is hard to see how proof is possible—we should have a universe whose final secrets had come down to an atomic question, and had yet been non-materialistically solved.

Meanwhile, if the link between physics and psychics proves unacceptable to the reader, he can find firmer ground

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in the connection between physical and social science, as indicated in Dr. Graham Wallas's Huxley Memorial Lecture delivered at the Imperial College of Science and Technology. It is interesting to note, however, that Dr. Wallas, seeking better opportunities for the student in both branches, stresses the importance of emotion as an aid to intellect in successful research. "Nothing great in science," he quotes from Huxley, "has ever been done by men, whatever their powers, in whom the divine afflatus of the truth-seeker was wanting." The question is how far this divine afflatus may be allowed to work out in terms of emotion rather than of intellect, and *vice versa*. Perhaps Sir Oliver Lodge has mixed his two ingredients in the right proportion. It may be only rational prejudice that hints at an undue share of emotion in his work.

SYLVA NORMAN.

BRAHMS AND VERDI

Johannes Brahms. By RICHARD SPECHT. Translated by ERIC BLOM. (Dent. 21s.)

Verdi. By F. BONAVIA. (Humphrey Milford. 7s. 6d.)

THOMAS MANN's opinion of Professor Specht's book—that it is "the standard work on Brahms, and likely to remain so"—is probably a just one, and the appearance of an English version is a welcome event. It comes near to being the ideal biography of a musician, by a man who not only had the advantage of acquaintance with the master during his last years, but who knows well from a ripe experience how to temper enthusiasm with sound critical judgment. The most remarkable thing about the book is the frequent identification of matter and manner, giving a reader a feeling of closeness of touch with the subject which is rare and thrilling. To one without a knowledge of the book in the original language, at any rate, Mr. Blom's work as translator appears extraordinarily creditable.

If the author's chronological arrangement seems strange on occasions, deviations and retrogressions are adequately accounted for by the total effect. The composer's relations with the Schumanns, Joachim, Wagner, and von Bülow are sympathetically and justly treated. Where the evidence is not direct it is carefully sifted, and stated with conviction but without bias. A chapter on Brahms's Vienna friends shows the author's power of quick and vivid portraiture. His analyses of works are always enjoyable, and often enlightening; and when an occasional descent into fulsome praise, or the manner of the poorer programme-note, occurs, it always seems excusable as a sign of the "blue flower" emerging. "He (Brahms) deliberately took a path that led him away from the land of romance to seek the land of Bach and Beethoven with all the ardour of his soul; but the spell of the blue flower (emblem of German romanticism) was stronger. He fancied that he had eschewed the enchantment, but this was a delusion, for he remained a romantic all his life, a dreamy enthusiast, a deep-voiced recluse, who clothed in new magical sounds the voices of rustling woodlands, the radiant eyes of virginal queens, the scattered tones of lost love-songs—all this, and his own life, blessed by sorrows and raptures." Such a passage will perhaps serve to show the best and the worst of the author's tendencies. Professor Specht's personal predilections are often evident, but while they are always detached from the main subject, that subject never becomes dull or cold; and in fact, there emerges throughout the book a slowly cumulative and subtle portrait of a highly important and extremely lovable personality.

Mr. Bonavia has written his study of Verdi in the light of the collection of letters "I Copialettere di Giuseppe Verdi" which "if it does not affect our estimate of the artist, throws considerable light on Verdi's character." There is no very searching analysis into the matter of the operas, but the author's comments on them and on the aspects of Verdi's life and career which his letters reveal, make interesting reading. The composer's attitude to public opinion, his directness, his generosity and dislike of advertising it, his impetuosity and his extreme orderliness are all discussed, and a successful indirect portrait of him is arrived at, with a realization of his particular genius. The quality of Mr. Bonavia's writing is excellent, and the book is easy to read and pleasant to handle.

JOHN PIPER.

A NATIONAL THEATRE

A National Theatre. By HARLEY GRANVILLE-BARKER. (Sidgwick & Jackson. 5s.)

Twelfth Night. Edited by SIR ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH and JOHN DOVER WILSON. (Cambridge University Press. 6s.)

The Genuine in Shakespeare. By J. M. ROBERTSON. (Routledge. 6s.)

Auswahlband. By ALFRED POLGAR. (Ernst Rowohlt, Berlin. M3.80.)

THE appearance of Mr. Granville-Barker's revision of the scheme for a National Theatre which he drafted thirty years ago in collaboration with William Archer marks the culmination of a movement which has succeeded in gaining general approval and which is appealing to the Government with the assurance of its sympathy. The case for a National Theatre is cogently stated by Mr. Granville-Barker. Private enterprise has been tried and has been found wanting. The fare it purveys is the drama of journalism and the popular novel, not the drama of the standard library. For example, first-class productions of Shakespeare, frequent enough on the Continent, are rare events in London. Nor does private enterprise encourage new work. A good new play, it is true, can hope ultimately to obtain a hearing; but its fate is dependent on the manifold hazards of the commercial theatre: mistakes in production, the illness of a principal, or some other untoward circumstance may prematurely determine its career and relegate it to the bookshelf for a generation. Magnificent work in introducing new dramatists has been accomplished by artistically inspired ventures such as the old Independent Theatre and the present Birmingham Repertory Theatre; but these enterprises are contingent on the enthusiasm of an individual or a group of people, and inherently lack the stability and the continuity of policy which are the conditions of permanent achievement.

Moreover a National Theatre, by maintaining a community of players under dignified terms of employment, would relieve the actor from insecurity and would raise the standard of individual acting and of teamwork. Whereas the commercial theatre favours long runs with a hastily assorted and unbalanced company circling round some "star" player; while the actor, cast to "type," is doomed as the price of his success to reproduce his "type" part *ad infinitum*.

A carefully considered scheme for a National Repertory Theatre has been drawn up by Mr. Granville-Barker, a practical man of the theatre who has served it illustriously as actor, manager, dramatist and translator. The scheme provides for two theatres, seating 1,800 and 1,000 persons respectively, with the necessary establishment and equipment; and for a company of a hundred players, presenting forty-eight plays each year. The repertory would be drawn from the best plays of all ages and all countries, with the addition of new works. Bureaucratic control would be obviated by a system of private control in the public interest, on the lines of the B.B.C. or the older Universities. The National Theatre would be self-supporting, but it would require an endowment of £1,000,000, which might be derived from the profits of the B.B.C.: an apt suggestion, in view of the cultural purpose of the B.B.C. and of its desirable association with the National Theatre for broadcasting, and later on for televising, plays.

In a valuable appendix Mr. Granville-Barker prints the objections of a few hostile critics, all of them associated with theatre management. Since on the other side may be ranged the remarkable volume of support gathered by the British Drama League from leading representatives of politics, the arts, and the theatre, including prominent managers such as Sir Nigel Playfair and Mr. C. B. Cochran, it is to be hoped that with the active goodwill of the Government the National Theatre will at last be removed from the region of controversy into the realm of practical politics, upon some such basis as Mr. Granville-Barker has so brilliantly expounded.

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"Fra Angelico" was published in English in January, 1930, and "Correggio" in June, 1930. Both volumes are uniform with "Michelangelo," published two years ago and now out of print.

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NEW BOOKS

Publishing is said to be at a standstill during the summer. Last week, however, J. & E. Bumpus, Ltd., received various quantities of forty-nine different books, each published for the first time. Their address is 350, Oxford Street, W.1, and the telephone number Mayfair 1223.

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and attractively presented. Mr. Robertson's devoted testimony has taken the form of an examination of the Shakespeare canon, and in his latest work he summarizes concisely the views he has discussed in previous volumes. The tribute of criticism, shrewd and witty, is paid by Herr Alfred Polgar, a leading German writer and dramatic critic, in the present volume of selections from the nine books he has hitherto written. "Auswahlband" is composed partly of essays and sketches, and partly of dramatic criticisms; and in it Herr Polgar shows himself to be a master of the short essay and of the epigram.

MARK SEGAL.

THE ENGLISH NOVEL

The English Novel. By FORD MADOX FORD. (Constable. 5s.)
Tradition and Hugh Walpole. By CLEMENCE DANE. (Heinemann. 6s.)

How entirely, in every discussion of it, does the English novel become just what the critic would have it be, and how precisely, in these two books, do Miss Dane and Mr. Ford say of it what, knowing their work, one would expect them to say! How essentially amiable is Miss Dane towards Gentle Reader and Gentle Novelist alike, and Mr. Ford . . . amiable on the surface, perhaps, but in essence how intolerant! Scarcely will he admit a tradition, at most a main stream of tendency flowing frequently underground and skirting but distantly the isolated peaks of the greater novelists. Richardson fathered the novel; he is orthodox to that degree, but the nineteenth century he sees as tending mainly to the glorification of that commercial product "that it is convenient to call the nuvvle," the novel proper meanwhile going abroad into the hands of Stendhal and Flaubert, to return only with James and Conrad and Stephen Crane. "From the death of Swift to the publication of 'The Way of All Flesh' there is very little to be found in the English novel that is not slightly unworthy of the whole attention of a grown-up man—say, of a grown-up Frenchman." He ultimately leaves the novel where he finds it most vital and flourishing, in the American Middle-West.

Miss Dane's shoes are, so to speak, very much on the other foot. For her the tradition was established once for all by Scott; the eighteenth century shaped it, the nineteenth fulfilled it, the twentieth, alas, seems only too likely to destroy it, an unhappy process against which the subject of her discriminating if not always completely convincing praise stands like a lonely rock, a story-teller of the good old school who has yet in certain definite ways, notably in his use of symbolism, made living additions to the accepted structure of the novel which are "bound to continue in use as long as the form is used." Her novelist, she declares, has little conscious respect for words; he "achieves style by the happy accidental combination of a gift for story-telling with passionate sincerity." He is then decidedly *not* the novelist for Mr. Ford's money; to Mr. Ford a happy accident would have no more merit than a flat failure. Even on the points where they agree, they seem to do so more in appearance than in fact. The story, says Miss Dane, is what really matters, and Mr. Ford: "the story is the thing, and the story, and then the story"—and one is driven to reflect how directly opposed can be the significance of identical words. And while both unite in praise of Mr. Walpole (to whom Mr. Ford amiably inscribes his little "opuscule"), it is the novelist Miss Dane acclaims, and Mr. Ford quite notably the man.

In short, these two books on the English novel are as different as can be. The Gentle Reader will enjoy Miss Dane's almost as much as he does Mr. Walpole's novels, while Mr. Ford's will puzzle and perhaps infuriate him. It should not. Mr. Ford writes not to lay down the law, but to stimulate the mental juices; he talks quite gaily round and about the subject, illuminating or obscuring his points at personal whim. He says some silly things, but he says too some wise and penetrating ones. Miss Dane's book needed to be written, and it is well written. Those whose admiration of Hugh Walpole is already complete will

find their enjoyment of him enhanced by this readable account of his inspirations and achievements; those who question the latter will find that at least she makes out a case which they will have to answer.

G. W.

THE OLD SOUTH SEAS

Life in the Pacific Fifty Years Ago. By ALFRED MAUDSLAY. (Routledge. 10s. 6d.)

HIGH jinks at Harrow, good companions at Cambridge, an excursion to Iceland and Guatemala, and we find ourselves in the South Seas. Here the story becomes less discursive, because there is a theme around which to build it—the conflict between Mr. Maudslay and Mr. Baker, the two forces for good and evil respectively among the Tongan islanders. Baker was a Wesleyan missionary, but he used his influence and his tithes to carry on a little surreptitious trading. He would work up the natives into a perfect frenzy of donation, and whole tribes would vie with each other in the amount that they subscribed. Mr. Maudslay put Baker to flight, but, although thrown out of the Wesleyan Mission, he returned to set up the Free Church of Tonga. Religious emancipation appealed to the natives, until Baker's tyranny became so far from free that he was finally evicted by a British man-o'-war.

This little intrigue gives form and substance to the last chapters of Mr. Maudslay's memoir, which has been constructed out of the material afforded by reminiscence, correspondence, official dispatches, and diaries. It would have been better if this framework of the book had been kept more out of sight. To quote letters in full is a short cut to telling the tale, but it interrupts the narrative and plays tricks with the time sense.

When Mr. Maudslay resigns his consular appointment, we are sorry to part company with such an agreeable companion. He tells us nothing of the subsequent ten years which he spent in Central America doing valuable archaeological work. Mr. T. A. Joyce, in the introduction, regrets this omission; we may cordially agree with him.

LA CARRIÈRE

Sir Charles Hanbury Williams and European Diplomacy (1747-59). By D. B. HORN. (Harrap. 15s.)

A LITERARY career without labour and a political life without intrigue furnish little ground for narration and less for conjecture—so wrote the admiring editor of Hanbury Williams's "Works" in 1822; but now, his literary and political stock having hopelessly slumped, his interest as a curiosity has risen, and Dr. Horn finds that he furnishes him with much ground for narration and is a useful peg on which to hang the history of eleven years of European Diplomacy.

That tangled web was never more complicated than between the years 1747-58, when the busy but ineffectual Williams bustled to Dresden, to Berlin, to Warsaw, and Vienna and Petersburg—"leaving each in turn on thoroughly bad terms with the controller of foreign policy at the Court at which he had last resided," in spite of his own "notion" that a Foreign Minister "should make himself as agreeable as possible at the Court he is sent to." An amateur diplomat, already middle-aged, whose most important political services so far had been the composition of venomous lampoons against Walpole's opponents, Williams plunged cheerfully into the mellay, making his début at the Saxon Court, without any qualifications for his task except enthusiasm and loyalty, and with every possible temperamental defect. He was careless, inaccurate, quarrelsome, indiscreet, and extremely vain—in fact, as Dr. Horn mildly concludes, "pre-eminently unfitted for the diplomatic life." His two most tenderly nursed schemes, the election of a King of the Romans—we are as likely, wrote Horace Walpole, to see a King of the Jews—and the election of a successor to the King of Poland, came to nothing, and he survives, if he survives at all, on the strength of the Anglo-

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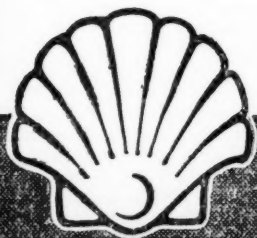
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Russian subsidy treaty, which, although its clauses were never executed, was an important factor to the British advantage in the Seven Years' War. That he was employed for so long is a sign of the curious inefficiency of the diplomatic system of the time, which, while it demanded work of great subtlety and skill, took little account of the qualities of the instruments engaged for it.

So much for Hanbury Williams. His attraction for Dr. Horn is that fate placed him in good positions for viewing the European scene, and we have in this book a detailed study, the result of enormous researches, of the chessboard on which Williams was a pawn. It was an extraordinary time—but then all times are extraordinary, once they are isolated and studied, and they all look their worst when the diplomatic side is the one which is turned up. At this period, of course, it is the wholesale venality of highly placed individuals and of entire States which provides the Lowest Common Denominator, the basis for all negotiations. Dr. Horn has made a serious contribution to the study of eighteenth-century diplomacy; the chapter on Poland (Williams's Mission of 1752) is particularly good, and might well serve as a model for this sort of writing.

LOVE OF NATURE AMONG THE GREEKS AND ROMANS

Love of Nature Among the Greeks and Romans. By HENRY RUSHTON FAIRCLOUGH. (Harrap. 5s.)

It is one of the blessings of a rural society that no one thinks about "unspoiled Nature"; the experiences of the countryman are judged on their own merits. Early Greek poetry is full of imagery drawn, inevitably, from nature; but it was not until Euripides began to write in his cave by the sea on Salamis that the romantic distinction between nature and humanity was introduced into literature.

Professor Fairclough deduces from the careful detail of Homeric similes appreciation as well as observation; but he neglects in his admiration of Homer's directness and naïveté (the gods forgive Schiller this word!) to discuss the purpose of the similes. When Homer likens the generations of men to the leaves of the trees and the death of Sarpedon to the felling of a white poplar in the mountains, he reveals a dramatic sense of nature, which in its turn, since trees are more permanent than men and, to beg the question, more beautiful, deepens the significance of the narrative. This ornamental, almost symbolical use of nature, not unlike the Metaphysical Poets' use of philosophical imagery, passed from Homer to the Lyricists and to Æschylus. It is not far from this dramatization of nature to the "pathetic fallacy" of ὁ Διὸς αἰθέρ.

If Greek artists and poets seem to have paid little attention to nature for its own sake, this was partly due to the survival of animism in Greek thought. Instead of describing a spring the poet addresses a nymph. The statement of this view, elaborated in the sections on Mythology and Art, is one of the most valuable contributions Professor Fairclough makes to his study.

Euripides's longing for the *vastæ asiles* turned in the Alexandrian poets to a taste for romantic scenery, meeting in Theocritus the countryman's ideal of pleasant pastureland, sunshine and cool streams. Theocritus and the Roman poets are the successors here of Hesiod rather than of Euripides. Among the Romans, love of country life was supported by a belief in its moral superiority. Professor Fairclough's arguments for their appreciation of wild nature are unconvincing, and it is surely absurd to quote *Suave mari magno* in support of them.

Professor Fairclough has clearly been hampered by a distrust, often too great, of his readers' capacity. He was bound to quote in English, in spite of the unjustifiable conclusions into which this occasionally leads him, and perhaps he could not avoid a chronological arrangement; but it cannot have been necessary to abandon so often his own stimulating judgments in favour of text-book summaries and modern quotations, chosen without the discrimination that marks his selection from the ancients.

N. M. HOLLEY.

THE JULIAN SHELLEY

The Complete Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley. Newly edited by ROGER INGPEN and WALTER E. PECK. The Julian Edition. Vol. VII. (Benn. £3 3s.)

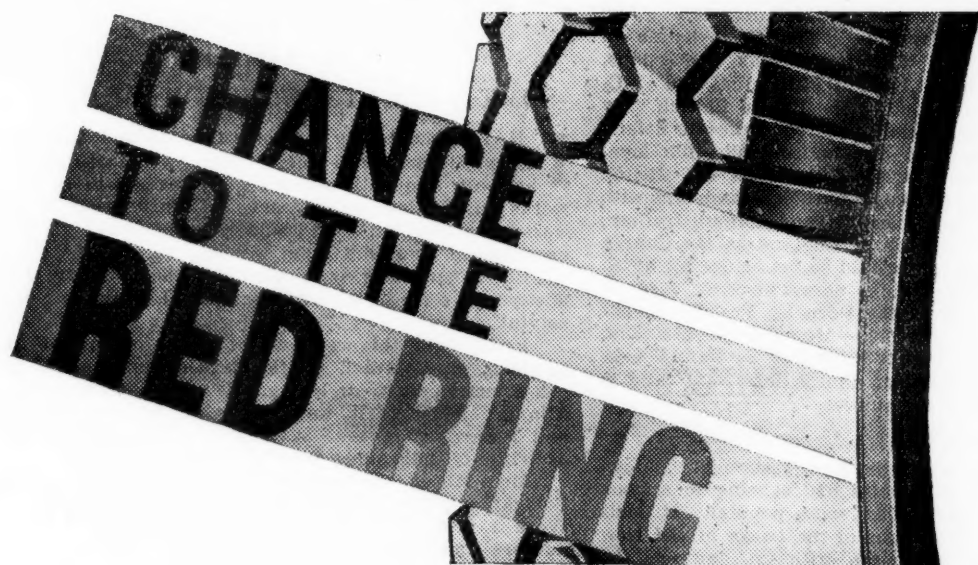
That the completing, if not exactly concluding, volume of a ten-volume edition should be not the tenth but the seventh may seem odd; but it is a simple consequence of the prose having been placed in the middle of the set and of the additional matter—including some very recently added—being prose. And though the completion of this stately issue is welcome, not very much need be said about it. It holds some of Shelley's, in their own way, admirable translations; many prose fragments hitherto known and some unknown, including a new thing of a class perhaps more difficult to associate with the author than any other—an after-dinner speech, not on politics, and reported in a newspaper.

The two most important constituents of the volume are the great and well-known Defence of Poetry, of which it is needless to say much, and those newly found Letters to Harriet, of which it is perhaps better to say little. Nobody who really understands Shelley will think the worse of him for them; nobody who understands criticism will allow them to condition in any way his estimate of Shelley as a poet. But the nobodies thus described do not include everybody, and perhaps one could have done without these innocently amazing documents. Still, as they were found, they must of course, be retained. Something should be added on the care and labour which Mr. Ingpen has bestowed on annotating this volume. To a rather unusual degree the text is subject to variation from original MSS. or successive printings; and the editor has taken great pains to collect and register these. Some of this matter—changes by Shelley himself in proof or manuscript—is of considerable interest; and none is superfluous in such a monumental edition as this. Some readers and possessors would have preferred its edges unopened, but, then, others would not—so no more of it.

A LITERARY POCKET-BOOK

Sir John Simon's two broadcast talks on India have now been published in pamphlet form by Messrs. Faber & Faber as "Criterion Miscellany, No. 18," price 1s. Those who listened-in to them will be glad to have them in this permanent form, and those who missed them should not miss this second chance. Almost identical in appearance is another pamphlet, "What the Simon Report Means" (The New Statesman, 1s.), by S. K. Ratcliffe, the eminent journalist who was formerly Editor of THE STATESMAN at Calcutta. For the busy man who has not time to read the Simon Report there could be no better substitute than these two publications.

A valuable addition to the Studies and Reports issued by the International Labour Office (League of Nations) is the volume on Freedom of Association (P. S. King, 5s.), which deals comprehensively with trade unionism in the U.S.A., Canada, Latin America, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, India, China, and Japan, and with industrial movements generally in the countries covered. Messrs. King also publish "Decentralization of Population and Industry," edited by Herbert Warren and W. R. Davidge (4s.), in which several authorities discuss the need and incidence of sound town-planning. The Natural Council of Social Service issue a fifth edition of "Public Social Services" (2s.), a book that should be in the hands of every citizen, for it explains both his civic rights and his duties—what he is entitled to, by way of service, and what service the law expects him to render. "Building Societies," by Harold Bellman (London General Press, 1s.), in which the past and present value of the work done by the societies is described and judged, has a particular interest at the moment when the general letting of small houses is in abeyance. The Adult School Union publishes Sir George Newman's Frank Metcalfe Memorial Lecture: "Some Notes on Adult Education in England" (1s.), and Messrs. Batsford, a revised edition of Sir Bannister Fletcher's "Architecture and Its Place in a General Education" (1s.).



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Some recent pamphlets dealing with Church of England doctrine and government include "The Good Estate of the Catholic Church," by Viscount Halifax (Longmans, 1s. 6d.), "So-Called Rebels," by G. D. Rosenthal and F. G. Belton (Mowbray, 2s. 6d.), and "The Bridge Church," by Dr. Langford James. Lord Halifax is concerned to defend the so-called extremists, who are, he contends, the loyal members of the Church; Mr. Rosenthal and Mr. Belton deal very faithfully from the Anglo-Catholic standpoint with the Bishop of Birmingham's beliefs and administration; and Dr. James sees the Church of England as the Church that in its comprehensiveness should be the bridge by which all the Christian Churches might pass into some form of communion. In the first of the Porpoise Pamphlets—the Porpoise Press, Edinburgh (1s.)—Mr. George Malcolm Thomson, author of the "Short History of Scotland," asks the question, "Will the Scottish Church Survive?" and is pessimistic with regard to the answer.

In "Every Man's Story of the New Testament" (Mowbray, 4s. 6d.), Dr. Nairne devotes his learning to a book at once scholarly and in the best sense popular. It deals with the origins and attributions of the books of the New Testament in the light of modern criticism, and sets the theology and ethics of the Gospels in relation to the world in which they were formulated. In "The Epic of the Old Testament," by Arthur H. Wood (Oxford University Press, 6s.), we are given selected passages from the Old Testament in chronological sequence. Mr. Wood sometimes uses the authorized Version and sometimes the Wyclifite and Tyndale versions. Dates are occasionally given, and the passages are linked by commentary explaining the historical background. A really useful book, the only fault in which is the smallness of the type. "New Testament Ethics," by C. A. Anderson Scott (Cambridge University Press, 5s.), embodies the Hulsean Lectures, 1929, in which Dr. Scott investigated the ethical teachings of Christ, their interpretation by the authors of Acts and the Epistles, and their relation to the ethics of the Jewish and Pagan world. Messrs. Dent present the two opening volumes of their projected edition of the Bible (for reading either devotionally or as pure literature): "The Gospel According to Matthew," with Introduction by Guy N. Pocock, and "The Acts of the Apostles," with Introduction by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. The books, prettily printed and bound in limp leather, are published at 2s. 6d.

There are always a few books in any considerable selection which refuse to be included in the arranged categories. Such at the moment are "Last Words of Famous Men," by Bega (Williams & Norgate, 7s. 6d.), an interesting little anthology, the title of which is self-explanatory; "Cremation," by Florence G. Fidler (Williams & Norgate, 2s. 6d.), in which the burning of the dead is defended historically and aesthetically; "Paper Boats," by K. S. Venkataramani, 3rd Edition (Simpkin Marshall, 2s. 6d.), Indian village studies that might have delighted Lamb; and "The Annual Report on Administration of Chosen, 1927-28," in which the Japanese Government of Korea is described, historically as well as statistically. Messrs. Routledge have issued three more of their Introductions, "Daily Life in Parliament," by H. Snell, M.P.; "Animal Life on the Seashore," by Professor L. Renouf, and "Health in the Nursery," by Dr. Victoria E. N. Bennett (6d. each).

A new edition of Mr. Maurice Baring's "Flying Corps Headquarters" (Heinemann, 8s. 6d.) is ready; the book, often beautiful and often irritating, remains one of the valuable war records. One of the figures in it (mistaken for a clergyman, page 82) is Mr. Belloc, whose "Many Cities," with the drawings by Edmond L. Warre, is reissued (Constable, 10s. 6d.). Mr. Belloc, in this book, revisits a place of poignant note in our history, which he describes as still one of the most affecting of battlefields—Fontenoy. "Good-bye to the Battlefields," by Captain H. A. Taylor (Stanley Paul, 21s.), is concerned with more recent history. It is a large, well illustrated, and wholly praiseworthy book, one especially in which the fighting man of 1914-1918 will lose himself in profound memories, and the visitor of 1930 onwards will discover the most singular and moving anecdotes. All ranks will bless Captain Taylor.

BRIDGE

By CALIBAN.

SOME RECENT BOOKS ON BRIDGE (I.)

I HAVE been trying for some time to find space in my column to deal with some of the newer books on Bridge, as I am frequently asked by my readers to recommend works on Auction or Contract. Unfortunately, the only works I can recommend without reservation are the (as yet) unpublished ones that I am working on myself.

But a few notes as to what is to be found in the productions of some of my *confrères* will, I think, be generally helpful.

I will begin, this week, with notes on one or two American books on Contract. So far, most of our Contract theory has come—in more or less garbled form—from across the Atlantic. Much of it, however, is not acclimatizing well; and I daresay in time it will largely be supplanted by doctrines of indigenous growth.

Mr. Milton C. Work's book, "Complete Contract Bridge," is published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, 7s. 6d. Mr. Work is, of course, one of the most widely read of American authors—indeed, there is a very large public in the States which quite slavishly follows his precepts. Now precepts cannot be slavishly followed unless they are definite, simple, and coherent; and I think it can fairly be claimed by the devotees of Mr. Work's system that it conforms to these desiderata.

But this fact, which constitutes its strength, also constitutes its weakness. A bidding system which can be readily grasped and applied by the tired business man, his wife, and his mother-in-law, is not the system which is likely to win championships; and I have always felt that in Mr. Work's there are a rigidity and lack of subtlety which do not make for Contract at its best. Mechanical rules—easily grasped and not difficult to apply—take the place of that interplay of fact and inference upon which I think the best systems should be based; and to play with some of those who have taught themselves on Mr. Work's lines, and to watch them going through the laborious process of evaluating their hands (sometimes by counting upon their fingers) is rather a painful experience.

Nevertheless, if you want a fool-proof system which will at least save you from some of the worst pitfalls of trying to be intelligent, read and digest Mr. Work's book. His system is presented with great care and ability; and, even if one rejects it, there is much in its underlying principles that is of value. The book is solely concerned with how to bid; not at all with how to play. It contains the American laws of Contract, which, of course, differ rather widely from ours. There is also the usual index to the laws, but no index to the book.

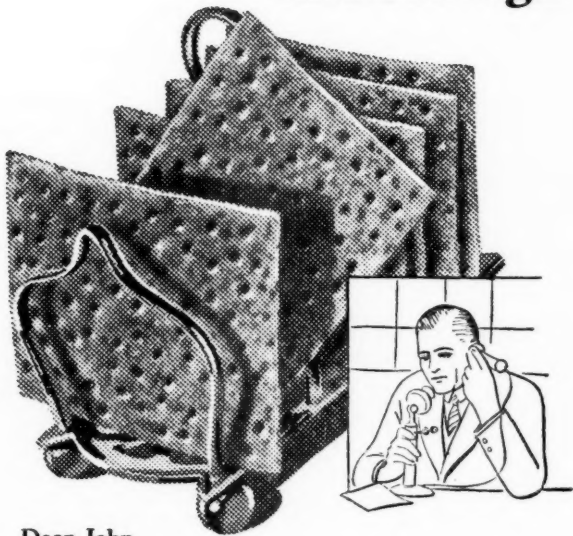
Mr. E. V. Shepard's "Correct Contract Bridge" (Noel Douglas, 6s.) is very similar in form to Mr. Work's book. Like Mr. Work, he deals mainly with bidding, and the laws incorporated at the end of his book are those of the New York Whist Club. He has, however, a comparative table showing some of the most important differences in our English laws. (One reason, by the way, that our English laws are less accessible than those of America is, I imagine, the fact that the former are copyright. This is a rather absurd state of affairs. The rules governing a game which is played in tens of thousands of households daily ought palpably to be freely reproducible.)

Mr. Shepard's ideas, like Mr. Work's, are interesting in themselves, and are logically worked out; I shall hope to find space, by and by, to explore in detail the differences between these and other authorities. The principal objection, perhaps, to Mr. Shepard's system is that it is not very widely known. This would not prevent its being widely adopted ultimately if it were better than anyone else's; but the momentum which any system of bidding has, once it has become widely advertised, will always carry it a very long way; and rival systems are proportionately handicapped. Speaking for myself, I do not, of course, recommend the adoption *in toto* of Mr. Shepard's principles; I am more impressed by those of Culbertson and Whitehead.

"Correct Contract Bridge" contains a good deal of interesting mathematical information. Success at Bridge depends so completely upon the application—whether conscious or intuitive—of the laws of probability that it is always encouraging to find a writer who understands the importance of mathematics.

Letters from Mary Goodbody

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FINANCIAL SECTION

THE WEEK IN THE CITY

AUSTRIAN LOAN—INDUSTRIAL SHARES AND DEBENTURES—MARCONI £1—GLOBE TELEGRAPH—RAILWAYS OF HAVANA

THE issue of a £3 million Austrian Government loan this week—part of a £12½ million loan in 7 per cent. bonds at 95 to yield £7 9s. 6d. per cent. with redemption in 1937—showed commendable courage on the part of its sponsors. We wish it success. Recent foreign issues have not been too well received. The German Reparations 5½ per cent. loan is at 2½ discount, and the San Paulo 7 per cent. Coffee loan issued at 96 has fallen to 6 discount. That all Brazilian bonds should have weakened on the decision of the Federal Government to discontinue supporting the milreis should not, however, worry the investor in European Government loans. Coffee is merely consumed, not grown, in Austria. The security behind this Austrian Government loan is excellent of its kind, and the meticulous investor may be assured that there is no immediate danger of our over-lending abroad. Of our total capital issues in the first six months of this year—£170 million—approximately £63 million were lent overseas. The comparative figures in the first half of 1929 were £174 million and £69 million, and in the first half of 1913 £120 million and £100 million, which indicates the extent to which we have reduced our foreign lending. It is, of course, a calamity that the United States should not issue more foreign loans than Great Britain. The annual estimates by the U.S. Department of Commerce of their balance of international payments showed that the American net export of capital in 1929 was only £75 million. Such is the American contribution to the world depression in trade.

* * *

Brokers are claiming that they have begun to do business again in British industrial shares. We agree that it is not improbable that a revival in ordinary or common share investment will be seen in London before New York, but we strongly suspect that the recent activity in British "industrials" has been the "professional" operators' reaction to the political situation. As soon as the Stock Exchange feels sure that the Empire Free Trade campaign will bring about the downfall of Labour and the election of a "business" Government, it will undoubtedly stage a "boomlet" in British "industrials." It used to be said that the prospect of a General Election depressed ordinary shares, but with a Labour Government in office it is the reverse. The Stock Exchange is predominantly anti-Labour. A gamble on ordinary shares based on Stock Exchange psychology is not to everyone's taste. If a speculation upon the turn in trade is desired, it will be much safer to buy the prior charges rather than the ordinary shares of companies which have been depressed. In the early stages of a trade revival it will be found that both the fixed interest securities and the ordinary shares of such companies rise simultaneously for some considerable time. Here are some examples of the prior charges of depressed "industrials":

	Price	Flat Yield %	Redn. Yield %
Cables & Wireless 5½% Pref. Stock	78	7.15%	—
Conselt Iron 6% Deb. 1962	88	6.82%	6.94%
Gt. Western Colliery 6½% Deb. 1935*	90	7.34%	9.10%
Fine Cotton Spinners 5% Pref. £1 Shares	15/3	6.58%	—

* Guaranteed by Powell Duffryn and convert. into Powell Duffryn ord. shares at par.

* * *

We supported last year the protests of the Marconi £1 shareholders against the terms offered to them in the Cables and Wireless merger. As we ventured at that time to argue that by standing out of the merger they might find their £1 shares more valuable, we feel entitled to congratulate them to-day upon their fortunate escape. It is true that

their £1 shares do not enjoy a free market—the nominal quotation is 2-2½—but they have at any rate escaped the flood of selling which has engulfed the Cables and Wireless stockholders in a paper loss of about £33 million. Moreover, they have actually scored on dividends. Last May, the Marconi directors naively appealed to their £1 shareholders to accept the offer of shares in Cables and Wireless on the ground that they would receive larger dividends. *This was on the assumption that the "A" ordinary stock would receive its 7½ per cent.* Thus, they said, one hundred Marconi £1 shares, then receiving dividends of 20 per cent., would be exchanged for £131.5 5½ per cent. preference stock (income £7.2), £205.4 7½ per cent. "A" ordinary stock (income £15.4), and £150.25 "B" ordinary stock (income nil) in Cables and Wireless—a total income of £22.6. It so happens that Marconi £1 shares received in respect of 1929 a dividend of 15 per cent. while Cables and Wireless 7½ per cent. "A" ordinary stock received nothing—that is, the non-assenting £1 Marconi shareholders received more than double the income of the assenting £1 shareholders and 3½ times as much as the assenting 10s. shareholders (who were given the same amount of "A" and "B" ordinary stock in Cables and Wireless, but only £81½ of 5½ per cent. preference stock). Not only did the non-assenters to the Cables and Wireless merger score last year, but they will score again this year when the revenue from the Communications Company will be half as much again. That they will ever lose was not clear from the speech of Lord Inverforth this week.

* * *

Some muddled-headed criticism of the directors of the Globe Telegraph and Trust Company has followed upon the Cables and Wireless tragedy. There are five directors of the Globe Telegraph, and all of them sit on the board of Cables and Wireless, Ltd. The chairman of the Globe Telegraph announced in his speech on July 2nd that the Trust had sold half its holding of Cables and Wireless "B" ordinary stock, but was retaining over £3,000,000 of the 7½ per cent. "A" ordinary stock and its entire holding of £4,823,000 5½ per cent. preference stock. If the Globe directors had intended to take an unfair advantage of their inside knowledge of Cables and Wireless affairs they would surely have sold all their "A" and "B" ordinary stock holdings. Indeed, the shareholders of the Globe Telegraph may have a justifiable grievance against their directors for not acting in the Trust's interests upon their exceptional information. The episode merely serves to emphasize the objections from the public point of view of overlapping directorships. Pooh-Bah directors should resign offices which present problems for the conscience.

* * *

The plight of the debenture holders of the United Railways of the Havana is a warning to investors who desire to hold fixed-interest securities to maturity, that they should avoid commercial risks. The political risks attaching to a foreign Government bond are to be preferred. The long-term investor could not have foreseen the world crisis in the sugar industry or the competition from coastwise shipping and road transport which have brought about a heavy decline in traffics and a lowering of rates on the United Railways of Havana system. The interest and sinking funds on the debenture stocks of this railroad are to be suspended for a period of 2½ years, with the exception of the 4 per cent. debentures, which are specifically secured on preferred shares of the American and Foreign Power Company, and certificates are to be issued for the arrears of interest at the end of the period of default which are to be redeemed before dividends are resumed on the share capital. The scheme seems to be a fair one which the debenture holders—now income stock holders—must perforce accept.

